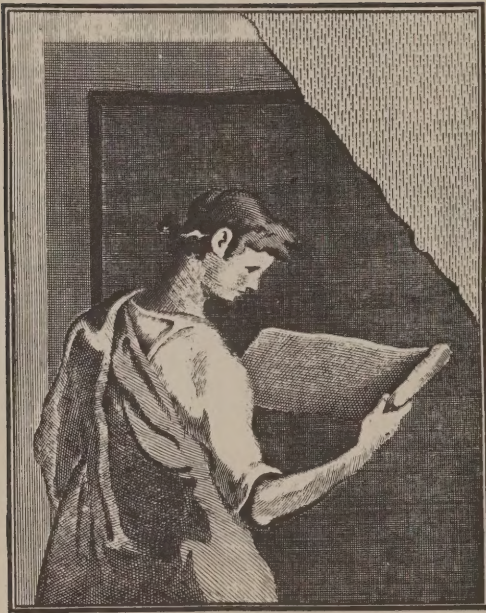




THE GETTY CENTER LIBRARY

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

E. V. ARNOLD, Litt.D.

AND

F. W. HALL, M.A.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT:

Prof. J. F. DOBSON, M.A., *Chairman.*

Prof. A. C. CLARK, Litt.D., F.B.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

L. WHIBLEY, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Prof. R. S. CONWAY,
Litt.D., F.B.A.

With the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary, representing the Council of the Classical Association.

Prof. H. WILLIAMSON,
M.A.

J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A.,
Representing the Cambridge Philological Society.

With the co-operation of Prof. WM. GARDNER HALE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO;

Prof. MAURICE HUTTON, TORONTO; Prof. T. G. TUCKER, Litt.D., MELBOURNE.

VOLUME XIX

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

AND

G. E. STECHERT & CO., 31-33, EAST 10TH STREET, NEW YORK

1925

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. 1.

	PAGE
Socrates and Plato in post-Aristotelian Tradition—II. G. C. FIELD	I
On Euripides, <i>Medea</i> 214-18. T. L. AGAR	14
<i>Lex de Actis Cn. Pompeii confirmandis: Lex Iulia or Lex Vatinia?</i> L. G. POCOCK	16
A Quotation from Euripides. P. H. LING	22
Notes on the Text of Terence. W. M. LINDSAY	28
The <i>Copa</i> —II. D. L. DREW	37
The Use of the Singular <i>Nos</i> by Horace. ELSIE HANCOCK	43
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	56
Language	57

No. 2.

The Character of Zeus in Aeschylus' <i>Prometheus Bound</i> . O. J. TODD	61
The Alphabet of Vaste. J. WHATMOUGH	68
Purification in Homer. M. M. GILLIES	71
The Aristotelian Categories. C. M. GILLESPIE	75
The Relation of <i>Aeneid</i> III. to the Rest of the Poem. CATHERINE SAUNDERS .	85
'Evil Communications.' H. J. ROSE	92
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> VII. 268. R. G. AUSTIN	93
The Chronology of Eusebius. H. J. LAWLOR, NORMAN H. BAYNES, G. W. RICHARDSON	94
Two Lost Manuscripts of Terence. W. M. LINDSAY	101
Ciris. W. M. LINDSAY	103
Terence, <i>Adelphi</i> 350. R. G. AUSTIN	104
Cicero, <i>Cato Maior</i> II. 4. H. C. NUTTING	106
Corrigendum	107
Etymologies. R. MCKENZIE	108
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	111
Language	116

Nos. 3, 4.

	PAGE
The Political Element in the <i>Heracleidae</i> of Euripides. J. A. SPRANGER	117
Some Notes on the Herodas Papyrus. J. M. EDMONDS	129
Antigone and the Bride of Corinth. H. J. ROSE	147
The (Homeric) Hymn to Hermes. T. L. AGAR	151
'Ciris.' D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	155
Horace, <i>Odes</i> I. xii. and the <i>Forum Augustum</i> . D. L. DREW	159
'Evil Communications.' A. D. KNOX, P. H. LING	164
The Alleged Achaean Arbitration after Leuctra. M. CARY	165
The Text of the Epistles of Themistocles. J. JACKSON	167
The Manuscripts and Editions of Heliodorus. R. M. RATTENBURY	177
A Note on the Policy of Clodius. L. G. POCKOCK	182
The <i>Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia</i> . E. G. HARDY	185
Flosculi Philoxenei. M. L. W. LAISTNER	192
<i>Antiae</i> . J. W. PIRIE	195
Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts. E. A. LOWE	197
Etymologies. R. MCKENZIE	208
 <i>Summaries of Periodicals :</i>	
Literature and General	211
Language	218
INDICES TO VOL. XIX.	219

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1925.

SOCRATES AND PLATO IN POST-ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION—II.

The Platonic Commentators.—After Cicero the Academy is no more than a few names to us for nearly five centuries. The nearest that we get to contact with it in this period is in the writings of Plutarch. He was himself a student there, and was well read in the books of Plato and the commentaries thereon.

There is no direct statement on our special subject to be found in Plutarch. But we have plenty of evidence to show how he regarded the Platonic writings. And the first point that emerges beyond a shadow of doubt is that he regarded the dialogue throughout as direct evidence of Plato's own views. It is unnecessary to go through all the countless passages in which opinions expressed by Socrates on the dialogues are quoted as Plato's. Almost all the dialogues are used. And it is not a question merely of a casual 'as Plato says.' We get reference to τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἐν Γοργία καὶ Πολιτείᾳ δόγμασι (I. 87, 25,¹ *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat?*). After referring to Plato's views on immortality, he gives his evidence of these, φησὶ γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ Σωκράτης (I. 295. 12, *Cons. ad Apoll.*). He quotes the well-known passage from the *Phaedo* as Plato's criticism of Anaxagoras (III. 135, *De Def. Orac.*). Most clearly perhaps of all in the *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo* he uses several of the dialogues as evidence of Plato's view of the soul. When one of these appears to be in contradiction with the account in the *Timaeus* he labours to reconcile them, without a hint that he had ever considered the possibility that the *Phaedo*, for instance, represented Socrates' views, and not Plato's at all.

It is much less easy to say how far he regarded the dialogues as evidence about Socrates. They are rarely quoted for anything to do with him. Xenophon is used more frequently, and many of the stories come from unnamed sources. But he seems to accept the dialogues as historically correct in any statement about incidents in Socrates' life. In the *Platonicae Quaestiones* he discusses why Plato in the *Theaetetus* represents Socrates as saying that the god told him to practise midwifery, but forbade him to bear himself. He suggests that the intention of this is to ascribe the critical and dialectical method to Socrates. But he concludes the discussion with the assertion that Socrates had no positive opinions of his own and did not teach any. The same assertion is made in the *Adversus Coloten* (VI. 441), though he

¹ The references are to the volume, page, and line of the Teubner edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*.

does imply there that Plato and Socrates thought that there was a sensible and an intelligible world. This last point, however, does not commit him to much. And if the assertion about Socrates' lack of positive opinions represents his considered view, and if, as we have seen to be the case, he thinks that Plato had positive opinions and that these could be found in the dialogues, the conclusion is obvious. But the first condition is far less certainly fulfilled than the second.

After Plutarch we do not come into contact with the Academy again until we reach the age of the commentators in the fifth and early sixth centuries A.D. Incomparably the most important of these is Proclus. But we have also the commentary on the *Phaedrus* by Hermias, his contemporary and fellow-student under Syrianus at Athens, and several commentaries by the younger Olympiodorus, a writer probably of the later part of the sixth century, who is supposed to have been teaching at Alexandria at a date subsequent to the closing of the Academy. There are also several commentaries on Aristotle by writers of the same school and period, of whom Simplicius is the last and certainly the ablest.

It must be confessed that these Platonic commentaries are not very inspiring reading. And the great bulk of them, being concerned with the interpretation of the text of the dialogues, have nothing of direct bearing on our subject. But we may note first, what emerges with absolute clearness, that all these commentators throughout assume that they are expounding writings in which Plato's own philosophy is to be found. Olympiodorus continually pauses in his exposition of the *Phaedo* to point out some particular δόγμα Πλατωνικόν which is illustrated there. Hermias expounds the theory of the soul in the *Phaedrus* as Plato's, illustrating it by reference to other dialogues, including the *Laws*. Proclus throughout quotes the dialogues for Plato's views. But quotation is really unnecessary, as the fact is so obvious throughout. Perhaps the clearest illustration of this is when Proclus quotes with approval the statement of Iamblichus about τοῖς δέκα¹ διαλόγοις, ἐν οἷς οἴεται τὴν ὅλην τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιέχεσθαι φιλοσοφίαν (Proclus, *In Alcib.*, ed. Creuzer, I. 11), of which the *Alcibiades* is put first. And the contents of these ten are really summarized once more in the *Parmenides* and the *Timaeus* (Proclus, *In Tim.*, ed. Teubner, I. 13).

It is clear beyond a doubt that all the commentators regard the dialogues as expressing Plato's own views. How, then, do they regard the figure of Socrates in them? The most direct information about this is a passage in the *Prolegomena in Platonis Philosophiam* of Olympiodorus. In speaking of the characters of the dialogues he says: Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ πρόσωπα οὔτε πάντῃ κέκτῃνται τὸ ἱστορικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα εἶχεν ἱστορῆσαι ὁ Πλάτων, οἷον ὅτι συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ Σωκράτης· ἀλλ' οὔτε πάντα πλασματώδη ἐστὶν τὰ περι

¹ Proclus seems to imply that the ten excluded the *Timaeus* and the *Parmenides*. Olympiodorus (*Prolegomena*, § XXVI.) quotes Iamblichus as mentioning twelve dialogues, and gives the list: *Alcibiades*, *Philebus*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedro*, *Cratylus*,

Theaetetus, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Timaeus*, *Parmenides*, *Laws*, *Republic*. But he adds the last two as an afterthought, because 'certain people' wish to include them.

τὰ πρόσωπα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκέκτηντο τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἰς ἑνὸς πράγματος ἀπόδειξιν συντείνοντα. λέγει δ' ὁ Πλάτων δίκην τῶν γραφῶν ἐκλεγομένων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χρώματα πρὸς ἑνὸς εἶδους γραφήν. This is the most definite statement that we have, but it is not very illuminating, and might be open to varying interpretations. It says nothing directly about the opinions put into the mouths of the characters. But on the whole it is doubtful whether it would allow opinions to be put into their mouths which they had never held at all. The last sentence would rather suggest that Plato would allow himself no more than the liberty to select from the opinions actually held by them those which he himself agreed with and wished to enforce in the particular dialogue.

If this is so, it would follow that, according to these writers, the views put into the mouth of Socrates in the dialogues would be views which he actually held and in which Plato also believed. And this is in fact the impression that we get in general from the commentaries. It is true that very often, when the views are mentioned as those of Socrates, he may be quoted simply as a dramatic character in the dialogue. This explanation would be more doubtful when the view is mentioned as being held by Socrates without special reference to the particular dialogue and confirmed by quotations from other dialogues, which happens more than once. There are, however, three passages in the commentary of Proclus on the *Parmenides*, where he is definitely giving an historical account, which place the matter beyond a doubt. I will give them in full, giving reference to the book of Proclus' commentary, and to the volume and page of Cousin's edition.

(1) Book II. (IV. 55): A reference to the two schools of Italian and Ionian philosophy; then, Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ Πλάτων, ἀμφοτέρων μετασχόντες, τελειοῦσι μὲν τὴν καταδεεστέραν φιλοσοφίαν, ἐκφαίνουσι δὲ τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐν Φαίδωνι δηλοῖ, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν φυσιολογίας ἦν ἐραστής, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰς θείας τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας ἀναδεδράμηκεν.

(2) Book II. (IV. 149): ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν θεωρία, καὶ δηλοῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Σοφιστῇ τῶν εἰδῶν φίλους προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ σοφούς, ἀλλ' ὃ γε μάλιστα πρεσβεύσας καὶ διαρρήδην ὑποθέμενος τὰ εἶδη Σωκράτης ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.

(3) Book III. (V. 4): καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν ἐκ τούτων ἐχεγγυωτέρων ὄντων, ὅτι ἄρα οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀριστῶν ἔσχεν ἔννοιαν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν χωριστῶν εἰδῶν· οὐδ' ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης φησιν, ἐπήχθη ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων θέσιν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς διατριβῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ θείαν ὄντως ὁρμήν, καὶ ταῖς ιδέαις αὐτὸς ἐπέβαλεν. This last passage is perhaps the most striking. For it shows Proclus arguing against Aristotle (for the first sentence also is clearly directed against Aristotle's account in the *Metaphysics*) about Socrates' opinions, and using the evidence of the dialogues as the basis of the argument. The three passages together are decisive.

This being the case, we have to ask how much authority this opinion of Proclus and his contemporaries has. We have found no such definite opinions

on the subject in any earlier writers. What we have found tends, if anything, in the other direction. Had Proclus access to reliable testimony from the earliest days of the Academy on which he based his view? He quotes none, at any rate, though from the last passage it is clear that he knew that there was another view. There is, however, a passage in Syrianus's commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which may possibly throw some light on the kind of argument which appealed to these later Platonists in arriving at this conclusion. Syrianus was the head of the Academy, the teacher both of Proclus and Hermias, and himself a commentator on Plato.

The passage occurs in the commentary on Book M. 1078b. Syrianus is objecting to the whole of Aristotle's account of the matter. He denies that there is any truth in the assertion that Socrates did not separate the universal from the particular, and that Plato introduced a new development into the doctrine. He points out that the Socrates in the dialogues certainly separates the universal. And Plato, he says, was *δίκαιος καὶ ἀξιοπιστότατος ἀπάντων τὰ Σωκράτους ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν· οὐθ' ὁ παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποδεξάμενος ἢ παρέβη ἄν τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου διατεταγμένων ἢ παραβαίνων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ περιτίθει τὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντα δόγματα*. Syrianus is familiar with the earlier Platonic commentators. And in a polemical passage it is natural to suppose that, if he had any early authority to bring against Aristotle, he would have quoted it. It looks much more as if his sole reason for contradicting Aristotle was his own sense of what was fitting in the relations of teacher and disciple. We may perhaps see in this a characteristic of an age when philosophy was coming more and more to be regarded not as a matter for free enquiry and argument, but as a revelation of truth to be preserved and handed on to successive generations.¹ It is quite consistent with this that, in point of fact, the original authority should be explained and interpreted in some cases out of all recognition. In fact, that would be the natural result of this attitude.

All this will help us in deciding the extremely important question of the amount of weight that modern students of Plato should attach to the interpretations of the commentators of this age. Was there, as some modern scholars seem to suppose, an established tradition of interpretation in the Academy, going ultimately back to Plato himself? An examination of the evidence hardly supports that view. We have plenty of references throughout Proclus and the others to serious differences of opinion among Platonic commentators, and it is difficult to find traces of a single established and authoritative interpretation either before or after his time. Olympiodorus refers more than once to difference of interpretation between him and Damascius (see e.g. *In Alcib.*, ed. Creuzer, pp. 4, 126; and p. 110 for differences between Proclus and Iamblichus). It is also important to note the other

¹ I do not wish to be taken as denying the real originality of the best of the later neo-Platonists. But it is significant that, on the whole, they

appear to be anxious to deny their own originality, and to claim that they are merely repeating the thought of Plato.

commentators to whom reference is made by name. They go back as far as Xenocrates and Crantor, and the significance of the references to these will have to be considered directly. But after this there is a great gap. The earliest references after these is, I think, to Posidonius (Proclus, *In Parm.* VI. 25, 36; *In Tim.* 40 A.B., ed. Teubner, III. 125; Hermias, *In Phaedrum* 245c, ed. Couvreur, p. 102), a jump of two hundred years. After this there are one or two references to Dercyllides, of the time of Tiberius, and one or two mentions of Plutarch of Chaeronea in the commentary on the *Timaeus*. And this is all for a space of a century and a half, at any rate so far as we know anything about the authors quoted.¹ And those whom we cannot identify are few and infrequently quoted.

The second century A.D. seems to have been a great age of Platonic commentary. Of the writers quoted by Proclus and the other commentators we can assign with reasonable certainty to this century Gaius, Albinus, Harpocration, and Numenius, who are mentioned by Proclus as among τῶν Πλατωνικῶν οἱ κορυφαῖοι (*In Remph.*, ed. Teubner, II. 96). There is also Atticus, the teacher of Harpocration, and perhaps Severus, while a little later there are Longinus and Origenes, the contemporaries of Plotinus. All these are quoted frequently, and it is probably to the commentators of this period that Proclus refers as οἱ παλαιοὶ or οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. At any rate, we may judge so by a passage in the commentary on the *Timaeus* (*In Tim.*, ed. Teubner, III. 234), where he writes: ὥσπερ οἱ παλαιότεροι . . . τοὺς Ἀπτικοὺς λέγω καὶ Ἀλβίνους καὶ τοιοῦτους πάντας. They are contrasted here with οἱ περὶ Πορφύριον. Porphyry is evidently regarded by Proclus as having begun a new epoch in Platonic interpretation. In one passage he puts him above all other Platonic commentators. And he quotes him far more frequently than any other, except Iamblichus and his own master, Syrianus.

These facts tell very strongly against the idea of a continuous tradition of Platonic interpretation going back to the early Academy. They suggest rather that little, if any, of the tradition on the subject goes back further than the second century A.D. And if we can judge by the commentators quoted, the centre of the study was not in the Academy or in Athens at all, until Plutarch, the son of Nestorius, and his pupil, Syrianus, revived the predominance of Athens in the fifth century A.D. Between Crantor and Syrianus the history of Platonic commentary in the Academy is a blank as far as our recorded knowledge goes.² These conclusions are confirmed if we examine the scanty references in the commentaries to the work of these first commentators. Crantor, we are told, was the first Platonic commentator. But there is no record of any commentary of his except in the *Timaeus*. And the sole reference to that commentary that we find in Proclus is to the story

¹ Is the Strato whose ἀπορίαι are quoted so frequently by Olympiodorus on the *Phaedo* the same as Strato ὁ φυσικός quoted by Proclus in the *Timaeus*? He apparently lived about the same time as Posidonius.

² The suggestion of Sinko in the pamphlet quoted below, that Gaius was the head of the Academy, has absolutely no evidence at all in its support.

already referred to above.¹ Plutarch, however, refers at much greater length to his explanations of the dialogue, but it is not always perfectly clear how far the views that are ascribed to him are his interpretation of what Plato meant or what he thought himself. There is still more uncertainty about this in the case of Xenocrates,² whose views are quoted several times by Proclus, and frequently by Plutarch. He is quoted by the latter as representing one of the two opposing views about the nature of the soul, while the other is represented by Crantor, so that if we are to suppose that they are discussing what Plato thought and meant, we see as early as this diametrically opposed views about the interpretation of the dialogue. This could hardly have been possible if there had been any authoritative interpretation which had come from Plato himself.

We reach, then, these conclusions about the early beginnings of Platonic commentary. Plato himself certainly never used the dialogues as textbooks nor expounded them systematically in the Academy. At the very most all that can have been derived from him would have been stray hints on the interpretation of isolated points. Xenocrates, if he expressed opinions on the interpretation of the dialogues at all,³ handed down no more than similar stray hints. Crantor only wrote on the *Timaeus*; he is never quoted for any other dialogue. There is no evidence that his successors ever expounded Plato's dialogues at all; they were more interested in the development of their own philosophy, and they only used Plato's writings, if at all, to find this philosophy in them. So the conclusion of the whole matter is that there is no authoritative tradition of interpretation of the dialogues going back to Plato himself, and very little, if any, going back beyond the second century A.D. It follows from this that the later commentators have no kind of authority for us beyond what they owe to their own natural intelligence and learning, and we are under no obligation to accept any explanation or interpretation of theirs which does not appeal to us as reasonable.

The Biographies and Doxographies.—Our consideration of the Platonic commentaries has taken us on to the last years of pagan philosophy. There remains to consider one class of writings, of which the bulk that has come down to us dates from that earlier century in which, as we saw, such a large portion of Platonic commentary was composed. That is the lives of Plato and the introductions to and summaries of his philosophy, of which several have come down to us. Of these we have a life of Plato and a summary of his doctrines by Apuleius, better known—as he would probably be horrified to hear—as the author of the *Golden Ass*. This dates from about the middle

¹ Taking this into account, we may well doubt whether Proclus had ever himself seen the commentary of Crantor, or whether it was extant in his time at all.

² I suspect in Plutarch the first signs of the tendency that we have already observed in later writers—the tendency, that is, to assume that if Xenocrates held certain views himself, he must

necessarily have ascribed them to his master.

³ The remarks of his quoted by Plutarch and Proclus on the *Timaeus* might have been his own opinions. But Olympiodorus refers to what looks like a definite piece of explanation by him of the meaning of *φρονεῖν* in the *Phaedo* (Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.*, ed. Teubner, p. 85). We are not told from what work this passage is quoted.

of the second century A.D.; and of approximately the same period we have an introduction to Plato's dialogues by Albinus of Smyrna, whom we have already met in Proclus' list of the chief Platonic commentators. To the same author we must ascribe an account of Plato's doctrines headed in the manuscripts by the name of Alcinous. It is now generally accepted that this name is an error for Albinus,¹ and that the account of the doctrines is by the same author as the introduction. Probably from the beginning of the following century we have the compilation of Diogenes Laertius, which includes, of course, much older material. There is an anonymous life of Plato of uncertain date, and at the end of the period we find a life of Plato and prolegomena to his philosophy by Olympiodorus, of which we have already spoken.

The lives of Plato may be dismissed briefly. The same incidents and statements are found in all of them, though Diogenes is fuller and contains a certain amount that is not found in the others. This account is also of more interest than the others, in that it gives the authority for many of the statements. He mentions about twenty different authors, some of them more than once. The earliest of them are Speusippus, who is quoted (probably at second or third hand) for the rumours about Plato's miraculous birth, and Hermodorus, who is the authority for the statement—omitted in the other biographies—about Plato's sojourn with Euclides at Megara after the death of Socrates. Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus, both of them pupils of Aristotle, are quoted more than once. But the author most frequently quoted of all is Favorinus, who wrote in the second century A.D.

Compare now the two earlier lives—those of Apuleius and Diogenes. The former is much the shorter, and every statement of fact in it is also in Diogenes, though generally in a fuller, and once or twice in a slightly different, form. But it is noteworthy that the great majority of the statements which these two have in common are given by Diogenes without the reference to any authority by name. And these statements are very often about quite small details, such as the assertion, which appears in all the lives, that Plato's first visit to Sicily was undertaken for the purpose of seeing the volcanoes.² We are probably safe in assuming, then, that they both were using the same original work, but that Diogenes supplemented it by extracts from other writers. What this original work was need not be discussed here. It is certainly not an authority of any great weight.

There are two statements, one each in Diogenes and Apuleius, which bear slightly on our subject. Apuleius, after his account of the early influences on Plato, goes on: 'Nam quamvis de diuersis officinis haec ei essent philosophiae membra suscepta, naturalis a Pythagoreis, [dialectica] rationalis . . . atque moralis ex ipso Socrate fonte, unum tamen ex omnibus et quasi proprii partus corpus effecit,' etc. (Apuleius, *De Platone*, 187). There is a lacuna after

¹ This was first shown by J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien* III.: *Der Platoniker Albinos und der falsche Alkinoos*.

² It has been suggested that this is an inference

from the description of volcanic phenomena in the *Phaedo*. This is quite possible. But it is not likely that the inference would have occurred independently to several authors.

‘rationalis’: ‘ab Eleaticis’ has been conjectured. Apuleius ascribes to them an important influence on Plato in the preceding passage. Diogenes expresses himself on somewhat similar lines, but with certain differences: *Μίξιν τε ἐποίησατο τῶν τε Ἡρακλειτείων λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ Σωκρατικῶν. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητά, καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον· τὰ δὲ νοητά, κατὰ Πυθαγόραν· τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.* We need not worry ourselves about the question how two accounts, clearly derived from the same source, should come to differ on this point. It will be observed that they agree in distinguishing and contrasting the Socratic and Pythagorean influence, and in ascribing to the former only the moral and political views of Plato. For the rest, the statement of Apuleius clearly rests on an inference from the *Timaeus*, and (if ‘ab Eleaticis’ is correct) from the *Sophist* and *Parmenides*; while the account of Diogenes very obviously goes straight back once more to Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*. To the same source, somewhat elaborated, may be traced another incidental remark of Diogenes (III. i. 56). After a comparison with the history of the drama, he goes on: *οὕτως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος. πρότερον μὲν ἦν μονοειδής, ὡς ὁ φυσικός· δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν· τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικόν, καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν.*

We turn, then, to the doxographies of Plato, the introductions to his dialogues, and the accounts of his philosophy. Besides the authors already mentioned, we have fragments, preserved by Eusebius, of the writings of Atticus, Severus, and Numenius, whose names we have already met in the writings of Proclus. But, with one exception, there is nothing in these which has much bearing either direct or indirect on our subject. The exception is an interesting quotation from Numenius (*Fragmenta Phil. Graec.*, ed. Didot, Vol. III., p. 154, fr. 1). He is explaining how the different disciples of Socrates came to hold views entirely opposed to each other. This happened, according to him, because each of them only attended to one of the different elements that Socrates combined in his philosophy. *ὁ δὲ Πλάτων Πυθαγορίσας (ἥδει δὲ τὸν Σωκράτην μηδαμόθεν ἢ ἐκείθεν ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γνόντα εἰρηκέναι), ὁδε οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεδήσατο τὰ πράγματα κ.τ.λ.* This is striking, because not only does it assume definitely that Plato followed Socrates in his views, but it also equally definitely connects Socrates’ views with those of the Pythagoreans. It is, I think, the only passage where this connexion is unequivocally asserted, though there are hints of it in Plutarch. Otherwise, as we have seen, the prevalent view is directly opposed to any idea of such a connexion. Numenius does not give any earlier authority in support of his account, and it is perfectly possible that it is purely his own idea. He is certainly an original, even eccentric, exponent of earlier philosophies. Himself a Pythagorean rather than a Platonist, his aim seems to have been to trace back Greek philosophy to the wisdom of the East, introduced into Europe by Pythagoras. He is the author of the well-known saying, *Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωῦσης ἀττικίζων*—a remark which hardly tends to establish our confidence in his judgment.

We turn, then, to the accounts of Plato's philosophy which have been preserved to us in their entirety. Of these we have one by Albinus, including the Introduction to the dialogues, one by Apuleius, and at least three, probably four, different accounts in Diogenes Laertius. Of these last, the first is ascribed to a certain Alcimus, who gives a brief account of Plato's views in the course of an argument directed to show that they were largely borrowed from Epicharmus. We then have an elaborate introduction to the study of Plato, containing a discussion of the dialogue form, of the order and arrangement of the dialogues, and other similar points. This is presented in a comparatively literary form, and is clearly the work of Diogenes himself, or of the author on whom his work is based. There is then a brief and badly arranged account of Plato's views, which is almost certainly by a different hand from this introduction. Finally, we have an extraordinary list of *διαίρέσεις* of every imaginable kind of thing, which is given as Plato's on the authority of Aristotle. This last is of no value and no interest to us.

The evidence of Alcimus, on the other hand, is of extreme interest. We are told nothing about him here, except that this passage is taken from the first of four books *πρὸς Ἀμύνταν*. On the basis of this he has been identified (by Schwartz in *Pauly-Wissowa*) with a Sicilian historian of this name, who was probably a younger contemporary of Plato's. If this be so, this is one of the earliest accounts of Plato's philosophy that we possess, and it is of great interest as showing the kind of knowledge of this philosophy that was possessed by those outside of Plato's own school. It is a brief and compressed account, obviously only a selection from what Alcimus said, though what is given purports to be his exact words. Without going into it in detail, we can say that the whole of it could be derived from the dialogues. Nor are there any signs of some dialogues being considered of superior authority to others. The distinction between *αἰσθητόν* and *νοητόν*, between *γένεσις* and *οὐσία*, the world of flux and the eternal Forms, are the common property of all the dialogues from the *Phaedo* to the *Timaeus*. We also have the doctrine of Reminiscence, though in a distorted form, and the expressions *μετέχειν* and *παρδείγματα* to describe the relation between the Forms and the things of sense. The whole account is clearly derived straight from the dialogues, and from no other sources.

The other passages in Diogenes and the works of Albinus and Apuleius present some nice problems in 'Quellenforschung.' They have been worked over carefully by Freudenthal (*loc. cit.*) and Sinko (*De Apulei et Albini doctrinae Platonicae adumbratione*), and there are some valuable comments by Diels in the introduction to the *Doxographi Graeci*, and a short criticism of Sinko's conclusions by Praechter (art. 'Gaius,' in *Pauly-Wissowa*). For the sources of Diogenes there are further discussions by Usener (*Kleine Schriften*, Vol. III. vii.: art. *Die Unterlage der Laertius Diogenes*) and by Schwartz (art. 'Diogenes Laertius,' in *Pauly-Wissowa*). A comparison of parallel passages shows in the first place that Apuleius and Albinus are clearly using the same source for their accounts

of the doctrine. In the introduction to the dialogues there are passages almost verbally the same in Albinus and Diogenes, though there are many passages in each with no parallel in the other. And finally there is a passage in Albinus's account of the doctrine which very closely resembles, sometimes in the actual words and phrases, a passage preserved by Eusebius from Arius Didymus, a writer of uncertain date.

The most varied conclusions have been drawn from this and other evidence about the original sources of these authors. Sinko, on very small grounds, claims a work by Gaius, the teacher of Albinus, as the original of both Apuleius and Albinus. Usener on various grounds makes out a case for Nicias of Nicaea, a writer of the time of Nero, as the 'Unterlage' of Diogenes. He believes that the main portion of the book is taken bodily from Nicias, and that extracts from other authors were simply added on, as in a scrap-book. He mentions our present passage particularly as one of those which come bodily from this original. Freudenthal, on the other hand, argues that there is no single author underlying Diogenes. And this is the conclusion also of Schwarz, who develops an ingenious but entirely baseless theory that Diogenes did not live to complete the work, and that what we have is his collection of material with some passages written out completely. The introduction to the dialogues he mentions as one of these passages.

It would be impossible here to attempt to arrive at a definite opinion on these matters, on which probably no certainty is possible. Provisionally we may accept the sober conclusion of Freudenthal that Diogenes and Albinus, and therefore Apuleius also, are all using as a basis some earlier work, of which all that we can say is that it is earlier than Albinus, and later than Thrasyllus and Dercyllides, who are both mentioned by name. That gives us roughly the space of a century between 50 and 150 A.D. All this, however, must not be taken as meaning that our authors did not read Plato themselves. In fact, it is perfectly clear that they did, sometimes with great care.

A careful examination of these accounts shows that the authors relied almost entirely on the dialogues for their account of Plato's philosophy. Further, they apparently regarded all the dialogues as of equal authority. The *Timaeus* certainly is quoted much more frequently than any other dialogue: the first part of Apuleius's account, for instance, is based on it alone. But that is natural, because it is the only dialogue which deals at length with subjects such as the creation of the world and the nature of physical processes, in which these later writers were particularly interested. But there is no evidence that the other dialogues were not considered as equally authoritative expressions of Plato's thought. Considerable use is also made of the *Republic* and the *Phaedo*, both of which Albinus uses as his sources for Plato's arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul. And there are throughout many traces of dependence on other dialogues. Nor are there any signs that any other source of information about Plato was recognized. The additions to be found in these writers are clearly later developments under

Stoic, Peripatetic, or other influences, generally, it is true, to be found implicitly, if not explicitly, in Plato's writings. A typical instance of the way these later developments are foisted on Plato is to be found in Albinus. He attributes certain logical doctrines to Plato, which, as formulated, are clearly of a later date. And he supports this attribution by illustrating from Plato's dialogues the different kinds of argument which these views distinguished and classified.

It is curious that, though Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian doctrines are sometimes ascribed to Plato, Aristotle's own account of Plato's views does not seem to have been used by these writers to modify or supplement the information that can be derived from the dialogues. The commentators on Aristotle do, of course, know of his contributions to our knowledge on this point. But there is no sign that they regarded it as in any way correcting or modifying what could be learnt from the dialogues which they quote freely for Plato's views. It is from these commentators that we get our only hint of other authoritative sources of information about Plato besides what we can get from Aristotle and the dialogues. Simplicius twice mentions a work of Hermodorus about Plato, which he quotes for certain views of his about the division of existing beings into *καθ' αὐτά* and *πρὸς ἕτερα* and further developments of this. It is to be observed that this book was evidently not extant in the Academy in the time of Simplicius. He does not claim to have seen it himself, but quotes Porphyry as the authority, who in his turn quotes it from a work of Dercyllides on the philosophy of Plato. This, incidentally, is but one more instance of how complete the break is between the Academy of the neo-Platonists and the Academy of its first founders.¹ In any case, the information that Hermodorus has to give, though in a small degree it supplements, cannot be said in any way to modify the information that we can derive from the dialogues. Porphyry himself points out the close connexion between what we find in this passage and what we can derive from the *Philebus*. Except for these passages and the one historical statement in Diogenes I can find nothing in later writers which is derived from Hermodorus.

There remains now to give a brief account of what is said by Albinus and Diogenes in the way of introduction to the dialogues, and with that our long task will be concluded. There is little of any great interest to us to be extracted from these passages, except the fact, already abundantly clear, that they regarded the dialogues as containing the philosophy of Plato. It may be of interest to quote the definition of the dialogue, which is given in almost verbally the same form by our two authors, who thus clearly took it as an accepted account from an earlier writer: "Ἔστι δὲ διάλογος [οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ λόγος, Albinus] ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως συγκείμενος περὶ τινος τῶν

¹ In particular it throws some light on the contents of that library of the Academy to which these commentators had access, on the strength

of which some modern writers seem prepared to treat them as almost first-hand authorities on Plato.

φιλοσοφουμένων καὶ πολιτικῶν [πραγμάτων, Albinus] μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ἡθοποιίας τῶν παραλαμβανομένων προσώπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν κατασκευῆς (Diogenes Laertius III. i. 48). The words πρεπούσης ἡθοποιίας do not imply any great degree of historical accuracy. Albinus explains them subsequently as meaning that the philosopher in the dialogue should always be represented as speaking with a noble simplicity and love of truth, while to the sophist should be attributed τὸ ποικίλον καὶ τὸ παλίμβολον καὶ τὸ φιλόδοξον, and the ιδιωτικός should also speak according to character. This does not tell us very much, nor does the discussion of the classification and arrangement of the dialogues add anything to what we know already.

There is, however, one definite statement found in Diogenes alone, which, if he were a much more valuable authority than he really is, would almost settle the whole question. He refers to the old controversy, which we have already met with in Cicero, whether Plato was a dogmatist or a sceptic. This controversy evidently began as soon as the Academy became affected by the sceptical doctrine. And even a writer as late as Olympiodorus feels it necessary to refer to it and to argue the point (Olymp., *Proleg. in Platon. Phil.* X., XI.). Diogenes entirely rejects the sceptical interpretation of the dialogues, and sums up thus (III. i. 52): Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἑλεάτου ξένου. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ξένοι οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπέλαβον, Πλάτων καὶ Παρμενίδης, ἀλλὰ πλάσματά εἰσιν ἀνώνυμα. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λέγων Πλάτων δογματίζει. This is a pretty definite statement, which certainly goes back much earlier than Diogenes. Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh. Hyp.* I. a. 33) mentions the controversy and this particular view, which he refers to in almost the same words (ἀποφαίνεται διὰ Σωκράτους ἢ Τιμαίου ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων). He ascribes it to Aenesidemus,¹ whom he quotes as one of the leading figures in the controversy. This takes us back to early in the first century B.C. But it is doubtful if we can trace it much further. This particular formulation of the view is clearly a product of the sceptical controversy. Its value as evidence of earlier opinion is, then, purely negative. At most it suggests that there cannot have been in existence any decisive evidence in favour of an opposite view. And this, as we have already seen, is a characteristic of a great part of our evidence.

This long and, it must be confessed, rather tedious investigation is now concluded. I cannot claim to have discussed or even examined every existing piece of evidence on the subject. To make that claim it would be necessary to have examined every allusion to Plato or Socrates in the whole of the later Greek literature. In that vast field there are no doubt many such passages which have escaped my notice, though I have, of course, examined many more than I have thought necessary to discuss here. But I think that at least

¹ The name of Aenesidemus in this passage is a conjectural emendation, originally made by Fabricius, for an otherwise unknown name in

the MSS. But the conjecture is almost certainly right, and has been universally accepted.

I have examined all the most important authorities and discussed the more striking statements.

What, then, are the general conclusions which can be drawn from this investigation? We can say, in the first place, that there is practical unanimity among all later writers that the dialogues represent Plato's own thought. They are invariably quoted as evidence for this, and the views with which we are familiar in the dialogues are regularly ascribed to Plato. The theory which is most frequently associated with his name is the doctrine of the Forms, and after that we probably hear most about the tripartite division of the soul. But almost every view that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the dialogues is at one time or the other ascribed to Plato. And there is absolutely no hint that the dialogues are ever considered as being purely biographical in character or as having any other purpose than the inculcation of views which the author believed to be true. There is no such general agreement about the extent to which the dialogues present an historical picture of Socrates. They seem to be generally accepted as an accurate representation of his personal characteristics, and also as evidence, so far as they go, for incidents in his life. But it is much more doubtful how far they are taken as representing the philosophical views which he actually held. There is much less said than we might have hoped on the question. Some statements are ambiguous, some seem pretty definitely to imply that the dialogues are not to be taken as representing the actual views of Socrates, while others seem to imply even more definitely that they are. But it is to be remarked that the most definite statements in this latter sense come from the latest writers. We may note in passing that there is next to no evidence to connect Socrates with the Pythagoreans; in fact, most of the evidence, such as it is, is rather the other way.

About the worth of all this evidence we do not arrive at a very favourable conclusion. Little or none of it can be traced back to an earlier source of any real authority, except to the passages in Aristotle which are still extant. And certainly we have nothing which we can possibly set up in rivalry to his account. And the conclusion of the whole matter is that there is really little or nothing to be gained from a study of these later writers which cannot be gained far better by a direct study of Plato and Aristotle themselves.

G. C. FIELD.

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξήλθον δόμων,
μή μοί τι μέμφησθ'· οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν
σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας, τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἄπο
τοὺς δ' ἐν θυραίοις· οἱ δ' ἄφ' ἡσύχου ποδὸς
δύσκλειαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ῥεθυμῖαν.

THIS passage has caused much discussion and much variety of opinion, and it still remains doubtful whether the later commentators in their efforts at exact interpretation have been more successful than the earlier ones. The general sense is sufficiently clear. Medea is making an apology to the Chorus of sympathizing Corinthian ladies for her delay in appearing before them. So far all are agreed. The difficulties, real or unreal, arise when we begin to inquire what form the apology actually takes. First of all there are doubts as to the meaning of τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἄπο. In the scholia we have a gloss μὴ ὀρώμενοι and the explanation τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἄποθεν τῶν ὀμμάτων εἶναι. Many scholars have taken exception to this view on two grounds, as stated by Verrall *ad loc.*, because (1) 'the sense of motion is not there, and (2) there is no reference to any eyes in particular.' He requires either authority or analogy for this. As far as the absence of motion is concerned, it is sufficient to refer to Thuc. 1, 7 αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ (πόλεις) ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὤκισθησαν, *id.* 1, 99 ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσι, Hom. *Il.* B 292 μένων ἀπὸ ἧς ἀλόχοιο. Then there is the analogous expression αἱ γὰρ δὴ μοι ἀπ' οὐατος ὧδε γένοιτο (*Il.* Σ 272, cf. X 454). As to the second objection, why is it necessary that the eyes of anyone in particular should be referred to? There is no more ambiguity here than there is in *Il.* Ψ 53 θάσσον ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν, where the meaning is 'so as to be out of sight, not of me or you, but of everybody.' In fact, it could not be maintained with any show of reason that ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν and ἀπ' οὐατος could not mean 'out of sight' and 'out of hearing' respectively either with particular or with general reference.

Following τοὺς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων and in contrast with it we have τοὺς ἐν θυραίοις usually rendered 'among strangers.' This expression, to quote Verrall, 'is equally doubtful, because ἐν in a local sense followed by a word not properly local in sense is hardly Attic.' The limitation to Attic is obviously intended to exclude Homeric instances, which, needless to say, are fairly numerous; but although I think good grounds might be found for contesting Verrall's position, it is needless to do so in this case, as it is quite possible and, if I may say so, much better to take ἐν θυραίοις as analogous to the datives we see in Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 627:

ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τηρήσουσ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν δημοσίοισιν . . .,

if so, θυραίοις is either a neuter plural or masculine agreeing with τόποις, as the scholiast on Aristophanes explains δημοσίοισιν (*v. the Classical Quarterly*, January, 1919, p. 16), and the meaning of it is simply 'in public life.'

But the chief error, if I may so call what is really a punctilious verbal accuracy oblivious of other considerations of everyday language, lies, I make

no scruple to say, in the misunderstanding of *οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας* 'for I know that many people have become, or are, *σεμνοί*.' A scholiast says *σεμνοὺς, οἷον ὑπερηφάνους νομιζομένους*, 'that is, are considered reserved or haughty.' This is the censure Medea is desirous to avoid *μή μοί τι μέμφησθ'*, but the literal purist objects that Medea does not say are considered, but are *σεμνοί*, and so the censure falls on the Corinthian ladies, whose censure on herself Medea is avowedly deprecating. Obviously it would not be a conciliatory opening of an apology to reflect more or less severely on those to whom the apology is addressed. Examples of this sort might pass in our House of Commons, when no apology is intended, but Euripides is not presenting Medea as a House of Commons apologist. He is merely making her use language in the ordinary manner, just as we do even now. When a man finds himself in a dilemma he is apt to say, 'Whichever course I take I am sure to be wrong,' meaning of course that others will consider him to be wrong, not that he will be really wrong. The form of expression is logically inaccurate, I admit, but it is in common use, and there is a certain amount of freedom and elasticity in language which should not go unrecognized. Ordinary conversation is full of such ellipses, and Medea's speech is essentially of a conversational character. Professor Gilbert Murray in his translation does not fall into this error. He takes *σεμνοὺς* to refer to Medea in the sense 'sustained by pride'—i.e. showing no weakness in facing her trouble.

I submit that *σεμνοὺς* really means too proud to receive sympathy, and would explain the passage thus: I have come out that you should have no cause to find fault with me and say I am too proud to see you, for I am well aware that many are so regarded (*δύσκληιαν κτησαμένους καὶ σεμνότητα*); some may keep out of sight, others may appear in public. The distinction between *οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων* and *οἱ δ' ἐν θυραίοις* is neither over-subtle nor, as Verrall says, 'utterly pointless.' It exactly corresponds to the dilemma in which Medea finds herself: she must either meet these ladies or refuse to be seen; for her, as a Scotchman might say, it is a case of 'but or ben' (by-out or by-in), either course entailing some detraction. Still keeping to the point of her statement, to the undeserved censure, the *μέμφεις*, which falls upon so many, she proceeds to say: Others who are content to live quietly, not shunning society altogether nor anxious to push to the front and be known to the public, are heedless and indifferent, neglectful of social and political duty. The charge is lightly made, and such superficial views ought to be corrected by a deeper knowledge of personal character. Even a native cannot afford to offend his fellow-citizens; much less would I, an alien, venture to hurt the feelings of the Corinthians. My excuse to you is that I have sustained a great shock.

This is, I submit, a fair paraphrase of Medea's words (214-226), and leaves no difficulty without explanation in a vexed passage which, though condensed, is throughout reasonable, pertinent to the occasion, and worthy of Euripides.

T. L. AGAR.

*LEX DE ACTIS CN. POMPEII CONFIRMANDIS:
LEX IULIA OR LEX VATINIA?*

(1) IN Cicero, *In Vatinius*, § 29, occur the words: 'Fecerisne foedera tribunus plebis cum ciuitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis?'

With this are to be compared:

(2) *Ad Fam.* I. 9, 7: 'In quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo de ui, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum.'

(3) *Att.* II. 9, 1: 'Improbitate istorum, qui auspicia, qui Aeliam legem, qui Iuniam et Liciniam, qui Caeciliam et Didiam neglexerunt . . . qui regna quasi praedia tetrarchis . . . dederunt.'

There is little doubt, I believe, that all three passages refer to one and the same event—a law or a block of laws passed, at the instigation of the triumvirate, through the instrumentality of Vatinius. The words in (1) are addressed to Vatinius himself; those in (2) are descriptive of what Cicero had said to him in (1) and elsewhere in the *In Vat.* As regards (3), we know that Vatinius had disregarded the auspices and the Aelian law (*In Vat.* 5, 14, 18, 20, 23), and the Junian and Licinian law (*In Vat.* 33 and 34; *Pro Sestio* 135), and the Caecilian and Didian law (*Pro Sestio* 135); and that as tribune of the Plebs he had made treaties with tetrarchs (*In Vat.* 29). It is also to be noticed that his name is mentioned in *Att.* II. 9, 2, a few lines later, which shows at any rate that he was not far from the surface of Cicero's thoughts in *Att.* II. 9, 1.

A. *In Vat.* 29: 'Fecerisne foedera tribunus plebis cum ciuitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis . . .?'

Commentators on this passage have agreed in deciding that certainly the compact with Ptolemy Auletes and probably the treaty with Ariovistus must be indicated,¹ and this has been generally accepted. It is, however, very doubtful indeed, for both these arrangements were made with the authority of the Senate,² and involved no sabotage of constitutional safeguards (cf. *Att.* II. 9, 1, 'qui omnia remedia reipublicae effuderunt'). Long takes 'foedera' to mean 'corrupt private bargains, as the result of which Vatinius made certain *rogationes*'; on the one hand this throws no light on the matter, on the other 'foedera' has a very formal ring about it in this passage, and appears to carry its proper meaning of 'treaties.' Ptolemy and Ariovistus might be supposed to explain 'regibus,' but they in no way explain 'cum ciuitatibus, cum tetrarchis.' It seems to me that the passage can only refer to the ratification of Pompey's acts in the East. The Senate had refused to ratify

¹ Cf. Halm's edition *ad loc.*

Bell. Gall. I. 35.

² Cf. *Pro Sest.* 57; Caesar, *Bell. Ciu.* III. 107;

them, and had even sought to re-establish the acts of Lucullus repealed by Pompey;¹ in 59 B.C. the acts of Pompey were ratified, against the wishes of the Senate, by the people.² They included the restoration of their kingdoms, with additions, to various *kings*—e.g. Tigranes, Ariobarzanes, Antiochus; the setting up of twelve *tetrarchs* in Galatia under the suzerainty of Deiotarus; and of a large number of *city states*—*ciuitates*. So Appian (B.C. II. ix.) says of Pompey's acts: (Πομπηΐος) ἡξίου πολλά ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιῶσαι. The result of the ratification of those acts would be 'foedera,' treaties with foreign states; and Cicero says to Vatinius: 'Fecerisne foedera tribunus plebis cum ciuitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis?'

B. It has always been assumed that the ratification of Pompey's acts was carried out by a law of Caesar himself, and such a *Lex Iulia* is enrolled in our works of reference.³ The evidence for it rests on two⁴ passages:

(1) Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 13: ἑτέροισι νόμοις καὶ τὰ Πομπηΐω πεπραγμένα ἅπαντα ἐκύρου, κάθαπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ . . .

(2) Dio 38, 7: ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος (the equites) ὠκειώσατο πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μήτε τοῦ Λουκούλλου μήτ' ἄλλου τινος ἀντιστάντος, ἐβεβαίωσεν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πόλλα διενομεθέτησε . . .

That would be strong evidence if there were none better; I submit, however, that the three passages quoted from Cicero are decisively against it. The real responsibility for most of Vatinius's tribunician actions rested with Caesar; and on the principle that 'qui per alterum rem facit, ipse facit,' Appian and Dio might easily say in general terms, as was probably said in 59 B.C. at Rome, that 'Caesar had ratified Pompey's acts,' though Vatinius had actually done so for him. Similarly Cicero, *ad Att.* II. 24. 3, says: 'Postero autem die Caesar . . . Vettium in rostra produxit eumque in eo loco constituit quo Bibulo consuli aspirare non liceret. . . . Addidit (Vettius) ad extremum cum iam dimissa contione reuocatus a Vatinius fuisset. . . .' From *In Vat.* 24, however, we learn that the hand was the hand of Vatinius, 'cum L. Vettium . . . in contionem produxeris, indicem in rostris, in illo, inquam, augurato templo ac loco . . . conlocaris . . .? Dixeritne in contione tua, rogatus a te . . .? Sed qui fuit tuus ille tantus furor ut . . . eum repente reuocares?'

Thus again Suetonius (*Caesar*, c. 20) says: 'Caesar lege agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit,' whereas from *In Vat.* 21 and 22 it is clear that Vatinius was the instrument of the deed.⁵

¹ Cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 48.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, Rotondi, etc., sub *leges Iuliae*.

⁴ Various other references are given, but are undecisive—e.g. Velleius II. 44, 2; *Bell. Alex.* 68, 1; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 42, *Pompey* 48.

⁵ Cf. also Meyer, *Caesar's Monarchie*, p. 419. *Bell. Civ.* III. 1 reads: 'Itemque praetoribus tribunisque plebis rogationes ad populum ferentibus nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos in integrum restituit.' Dio (41, 36), Appian (II. 48), and Plutarch (*Caes.* 37) all ascribe this to Caesar personally.

Although Dio and Appian may have thought that it was a *Lex Iulia* which ratified the acts of Pompey, they do not make any definite statement to that effect as though they were quoting from an official record. At first sight the continuation of the passage from Dio quoted above does seem to include that *lex* in the νόμοι Ἰουλίοι. It runs as follows: . . . μηδέως ἐναντιούμενον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ Κάτων ἀντεῖπέ τι, καίπερ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ ἦν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ὥς καὶ Ἰουλίων ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμνησθεῖς· τὰ γὰρ δικαστήρια κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπικληρῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο. But the fact that this story was told in connexion with the law courts indicates that it is only the *Lex Iulia de rebus repetundis* which is referred to, and the *lex de actis Pompeii* is not involved.

C. Botsford (*Roman Assemblies*, p. 303) points out that from the time of the Caudine disaster the Comitia Tributa acquired the right of ratifying treaties,¹ which suggests that tribunes presided on such occasions, for plebiscita were passed by the Comitia Tributa usually at the rogation of a tribune (cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. tit. 2, S. 4: 'Plebiscitum est quod plebs plebeio magistratu interrogante, ueluti tribuno, constituebat'). This is borne out by Livy XXX. 43, 2: 'Tum M' Acilius et Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt "Vellent iuberentne Senatum decernere ut cum Carthaginensibus pax fieret; quem eam pacem dare quemque ex Africa exercitus deportare iuberent": de pace "uti rogas" omnes tribus iusserunt; pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem exercitus deportare.' And XXXIII. 25, 6: 'Marcellus pacem simulatam . . . dicendo et rebellaturum si exercitus deportatus esset regem, dubios sententiae patres fecerat. Et forsitan obtinuisset consul, ni Q. Marcius Ralla et C. Atinius Labeo tribuni plebis se intercessuros dixissent ni prius ipsi ad plebem tulissent "uellent iuberentne cum rege Philippo pacem esse." ea rogatio . . . ad plebem lata est; omnes quinque et XXX. tribus "uti rogas" iusserunt.' We know that Pompey's acts were ratified by the people,² therefore (since treaties of peace were involved) in all probability by plebiscitum and at the rogation of a tribune—i.e. of Vatinius, the only legislating magistrate of 59 B.C. except Caesar.³

Taüblers, it is true (*Imperium Romanum*, pp. 127 and 8), suggests that consuls rather than tribunes presided over the tributa on these occasions, but the only instance he quotes (Polybius 18, 42) appears to be inconclusive. It deals with the same story as Livy XXXIII. 25. 6, quoted above, which Taübler thinks it contradicts. It runs as follows: λόγων δὲ πλειόνων γενομένων ἐν τῇ συγκλητῷ, ταυτῇ μὲν ἐδόκει βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὁμολογίας· εἰς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεχθέντος τοῦ διαβουλίου Μάρκος (Marcellus), αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβάσεως, ἀντέλεγε καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιεῖτο σπούδην εἰς τὸ διακόψαι τὰς συνθήκας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ γε δῆμος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Τίτου προαίρεσιν ἐπεκύρωσε τὰς διαλύσεις.' This does not appear to contradict Livy's story as regards the comitia; it only tells us that the consul addressed the meeting, not that he presided. On the

¹ Cf. Livy XXIX. 12. 15 sq.

² Plut. *Pomp.* § 48.

³ *In Vat.* § 17.

contrary, the fact that he spoke against the measure would detract from the probability of his having proposed it.

D. In the letter *ad Fam.* I. 9, 7, Cicero is trying to make out what was, I think, not in accordance with the facts¹—namely, that in his attack upon Vatinius he had been attacking Pompey. Now 'donatione regnorum' has the place of emphasis at the end of the sentence. It cannot refer to Ptolemy, for it sums up 'fecerisne foedera cum ciuitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis,'² and there are no free states or tetrarchs in Egypt; nor can 'donatio regnorum' represent a vague 'conventional' charge against Vatinius, even if 'foedera' could. Therefore it either refers to some very important event of which we know nothing at all, or it refers to the ratification of Pompey's acts through the instrumentality of Vatinius, in which case it has very great emphasis indeed. Notice again that in the letter, where he makes out that his attack was levelled at Pompey, he says: '... sedente Cn. Pompeio ... omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo ... de donatione regnorum.' In the speech (*In Vat.* 29), where he was as a matter of fact taking every care not to offend Pompey, there are no signs of 'libertate animoque maximo.' The crime suggested there is *not* that Vatinius made treaties with kings and tetrarchs, but that he made money out of doing so. The inference is that Cicero was taking pains not to be offensive to Pompey in a matter which touched him very closely—I suggest again the ratification of his acts. Similarly the offensive word 'donatio' (probably the party cry of the Senators against his acts; cf. Octavianus and the 'Donations of Alexandria') is absent entirely from the speech. It appears in the letter *Fam.* I. 9, 7, and again in another form in *Att.* II. 9, 1, 'qui regna quasi praedia tetrarchis ... dederunt.'³

Furthermore, the passage in the speech is connected trebly with that in *Att.* II. 9, 1, (1) by 'immanes pecunias' in the letter and 'erogarisne pecunias ex aerario' in the speech (*In Vat.* 29); (2) by 'dederunt' in *Att.* II. 9, 1, vice 'donatione' in *Fam.* I. 9, 7; (3) by 'tetrarchis'; therefore, although the plural ('istorum qui ... neglexerunt ... dederunt') naturally refers to the triumvirate and their moral responsibility, it is clear that it is Vatinius who in *Att.* II. 9, 1, is personally and particularly indicated. Vatinius had defied the auspices, the Aelian law, the Junian and Licinian law, the Caecilian and Didian law, and as tribune of the Plebs had made treaties which gave great territories to tetrarchs: it is clear that Vatinius, and Vatinius alone, completely fills the bill of the indictment. That it refers to the ratification of Pompey's acts by Vatinius there is one more piece of evidence. The *Lex Caecilia Didia* (B.C. 98), confirmed by the *Lex Licinia Iunia* (B.C. 62), forbade *inter alia* the passing of 'leges saturae'—i.e. laws containing a miscellaneous number of provisions. As Shuckburgh, commenting on *Att.* II. 9, 1, suggests, since

¹ A complete proof of this requires considerable space; the speeches, *Post reditum*, and the letters of 57-56 B.C. provide the evidence.

² *In Vat.* 29, and cf. *Att.* II. 9, 1.

³ Cf. again Appian, B.C. II. ix., ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει.

Pompey wished to have his miscellaneous acts confirmed *en bloc*, it was probably in their ratification that those laws were broken. There is no absolutely direct evidence of this, but the following, I think, is a fragment of the missing link itself:

(1) The *Lex Licinia*, besides confirming the *Caecilia Didia*, served to protect the people from *passing laws the import of which they did not understand*.

(2) Plutarch (*Pompey* 48) says 'the whole populace became wholly at their devotion (the triumvirate's), *inquiring into nothing, and without a word giving their votes to whatever they proposed. Thus they confirmed all those decrees and acts of Pompey which were questioned and contested by Lucullus*'—i.e. there had been an infringement of the provisions of the *Lex Licinia Iunia*.

(3) When he had gone out of office Vatinius was accused of having infringed the *Licinia Iunia*.¹ The praetor allotted to the case was that staunch optimate C. Memmius. Vatinius appealed to the tribunes to intervene; the court was wrecked, Memmius put to flight, and Vatinius and the cause he stood for left in possession of the field.

I submit, therefore, that the evidence, though circumstantial, is conclusive; that the obscurities of the three passages from Cicero are dissipated, and that the acts of Pompey were in fact ratified by a *Lex Vatinia*.

In Vat. 33 and 34.—The foregoing would seem to throw fresh light on *In Vat.* 33 and 34. If it was in the ratification of Pompey's acts that Vatinius contravened the *Licinia Iunia*, we have here yet another oblique attack on the triumvirate in the year 58 B.C.—a similar attack to that which Cicero claims to have made in the case of Sestius in 56.² It is interesting to see what happened. Vatinius summoned the aid of the tribunes, and Clodius, who is supposed to have attacked the 'acta Caesaris'³ that same year, arrived at the head of his retainers and smote the enemy hip and thigh.⁴ As to Vatinius's reason for appealing to the tribunes to stop the case, the scholiast in a note, which is otherwise certainly inaccurate, makes out that it was the result of a quarrel between Memmius and Vatinius about his own *lex de aeternis consiliis*. The possibility of his theory has been impugned by Reine,⁵ and it is safe to say that it is improbable; it appears to be a conjecture, based on the words, 'Num quis reus in tribunal sui quaesitoris escenderit . . . urnas deiecerit?' in § 34, and I think we may make a better.

It is emphasized in § 34 that Vatinius returned voluntarily to Rome to answer this charge. There was clearly no danger of his being condemned 'in absentia' or anything like that. It is true he was to stand for the Aedileship in 57,⁶ and would have to clear himself before the elections;⁷ but they were still a long way ahead, and Vatinius appears to have been not only willing but eager to meet the accusation at once.⁸

¹ Cf. *In Vat.* 33 and 34.

² *Fam.* I. 9. 7 and 8.

³ 'Qui per alterum facit, ipse facit.' Cf. *De Domo*, § 40, and *C.Q.*, April, 1924, p. 59.

⁴ *In Vat.* § 34.

⁵ For a full discussion see Halm's *In Vat.*, p. 107 *ad loc.*

⁷ Cf. *ibid.* § 25.

⁶ *In Vat.* § 16.

⁸ *Ibid.* 34 *ad fin.*

As a matter of fact it would seem that there was a supremely important constitutional point at issue¹—namely, the power of the People to override a ‘consular’ law, or, in other words, to alter the ‘constitution’ if they so wished.² Cf. Willems, *Droit public romain*, p. 155: ‘En principe toute loi peut être abrogée. En effet une loi des XII. Tables portait “ut quodcunque postremum populus iussisset, id ius ratumque esset” (p. 157). Au dernier siècle de la République, le Sénat s’est attribué le droit non pas de casser les lois régulièrement votées, mais de déclarer que telle ou telle mesure, votée sans l’observance des formalités légales (lex non iure rogata: Cic. *de leg.* II. 12 and 31, cf. *P. Sest.* XXXIV., § 73) ne devait pas être reconnue ni observée comme une loi (ea lege non uideri populum teneri).’ In *Vat.* § 14 we read ‘initio tribunatus tui Senatui denuntiaris tuis actionibus augurum responsa atque eius conlegi adrogantiam impedimento non futura?’ Presumably Vatinius had obtained some authority from the people for such a revolutionary announcement which flatly contravened the consular *Lex Aelia Fufia*, though we are told of none. At the commencement of 58 B.C., at any rate (when *both* the consuls were complaisant), Clodius succeeded in having a formal law to the same effect placed on the statute book (cf. *Pro Sest.* §§ 33 and 56); and we may note that in the case under review Vatinius made his appeal not only to the tribunes of the plebs, but to Clodius ‘nominatim.’³

For as with the *Aelia Fufia*, so with the *Caecilia Didia* and *Licinia Iunia* (under which he was accused), Vatinius would argue that just as Tiberius Gracchus had been able to depose his colleague Octavius at the expressed will of the People, so if they wished to confirm the acts of Pompey, or pass any other measure at the rogation of a tribune, the People could dispense with Senatorial obstacles or so-called ‘constitutional safeguards.’⁴

Thus Cicero (*Pro Sest.* 135) says of Vatinius: ‘quem non tam admiror quod meam legem contemnit hominis inimici quam quod sic statuit omnino consularem legem nullam putare. Caeciliam Didiam, Liciniam Iuniam contempsit.’ It is probable, then, that Vatinius returned from the profits and protection of his legation in order to uphold a cardinal principle of the Popular Party—the absolute sovereignty of the people—and to rout in the most public manner possible an attempt to reassert the ‘usurped’ authority of the Senate.⁵

L. G. POCKOCK.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

¹ Important not only from a constitutional point of view; the validity of the whole of Caesar’s and his own legislation stood or fell by it, the most critical political question of the day. Cf. *De Domo*, §§ 39 and 40; *Pro Clod.* § 46, etc.

² Cf. *Att.* II. 9, 1: ‘qui omnia remedia rei publicae effuderunt.’

³ In *Vat.* 33.

⁴ *Att.* II. 9, 1.

⁵ For other examples of Vatinius’s anti-Senatorial views, cf. *In Vat.* §§ 14, 23, 35, and 36.

A QUOTATION FROM EURIPIDES.

‘ Evil communications corrupt good manners.’

(φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρησθ’ ὁμιλίας κακάς.)

1 Cor. xv. 33.

THIS famous iambic line is described—alike by commentators on the New Testament and by writers on the Greek drama—as a quotation in the first place from the lost *Thaïs* of Menander, and it is further stated that it was there borrowed from some play of Euripides no longer extant. In view of the revival of interest in Euripides during recent years, it seems worth while to examine the line in detail, and to see whether, in the light of our present knowledge, any further information can be extracted as to its precise source.

It is quoted by a very large number of early Christian writers,¹ but in most cases the reference is only to St. Paul. The passages on which it is ascribed to Euripides are the two following :

Clement of Alexandria (*circa* A.D. 200), *Stromateis*, I. xiv.: ‘According to the Corinthians (for this is not the only instance), while discoursing on the resurrection of the dead, he makes use of a tragic iambic line when he says: “What advantageth it me if the dead are not raised? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived. Evil communications corrupt good manners.”’

Socrates (*circa* A.D. 440), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. 16: ‘Again, this sentence “Evil communications corrupt good manners” is a sufficient proof that he was conversant with the tragedies of Euripides.’

The attribution to Menander is largely based on the authority of Jerome.

Jerome (*circa* A.D. 400), *Comment. ad Titum*, c. i.: ‘To the Corinthians also . . . he took an iambic verse from a comedy of Menander, “Evil communications corrupt good manners.”’

There is a similar reference in the same writer, *Comment. ad Galatas*, ii. 4; and Menander is mentioned in this connexion in a third passage, *Comment. ad Ephes.* iii. 5. The line is ascribed to Menander also by Euthalius (A.D. 458), Bishop of Sulce, writer of a commentary on the New Testament, and by Photius² in the ninth century. The MS. *Laud.* 2 also contains a marginal note to the same effect, which appears to be copied from Euthalius.

It will be seen that these references do not mention the *Thaïs*. A MS. used by Robert Estienne in the sixteenth century, and vaguely referred to by his son, Henri Estienne,³ seems to have had a marginal note, *Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ γνώμη ἐν Θαίῃδι*.

It appears, then, that while this line is attributed to Menander by Jerome and others, the ascription to Euripides is based solely on a statement of the historian Socrates, though this is supported as far as it goes by the description of the line as ‘tragic’ by Clement of Alexandria.

Before proceeding I ought to say something of the translation. The familiar phrase of the Authorized Version is altered in the Revised Version to ‘Evil company doth corrupt good manners,’ while the American revisers make it ‘Evil companion-

¹ See the account in Nauck (*Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*, 1889, Eur. fr. 1024), or Wetstein *ad* 1 Cor. xv. 33.

² *ad* Amphiloeh. *quaest.* 151.

³ *Comic. Græc.*, p. 351.

ships corrupt good manners,' which appears to be what is usually understood; but Dr. Hastings (*Dictionary of Bible*, art. 'Communication') urges that *ὁμιλέω* in the New Testament is always used in the sense of speaking, and that therefore *ὁμιλία* (which only occurs here) will have the same meaning. Jerome seems to take the same view by rendering 'colloquia mala' in one place and 'confabulationes pessimae' in another. On the other hand, it would be reasonable to suppose that in a quotation the word would have the meaning of the context in its original place. Perhaps we are safest in assuming that the word is ambiguous, in which case 'evil company' may be taken as including 'evil communications.'

Of the *Thaïs* of Menander little need be said.¹ Only a few passages survive; but it would seem that Allinson, in his recent book on Menander,² has fairly described it when he prefixes this couplet to the fragments which he includes:

'Lovely Thaïs, sit beside me;
I detect, but still abide thee.'

That Menander should quote Euripides is far from surprising. One actual quotation (from the *Auge*) has been found in the recently recovered portions of the *Epitrepontes*; and Menander has often been regarded as the direct literary descendant at once of Aristophanes and of Euripides.³

There are two passages in pre-Christian writers which appear definitely to be related to the line we are discussing. Diodorus Siculus (XVI. 54, about a century before St. Paul) writes of Philip of Macedon: *ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλίαις διέφθειρε τὰ ἦθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων*: 'with wicked associations he utterly corrupted the manners of men.' The close connexion of the language here leaves little room for doubt that Diodorus was actually quoting either Euripides or Menander.

A still more striking resemblance is afforded by a passage in the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus. The messenger is describing one by one the seven hostile leaders, the positions they are taking up, and the threats they are uttering, and he comes at length to the case of Amphiaraus, though without giving the name. Now this man had been induced to join the expedition against his better judgment, knowing full well that he is sealing his own fate. To which this is the comment of Eteocles:

φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῖς
δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστάτοις·
ἐν παντὶ πράγῃ δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
κάκιον οὐδέν. (ll. 597-600.)

'Alas, the fate that joins a righteous man to wicked mortals; in every matter there is nothing worse than evil association.'

The resemblance here is greater in the original than in the English. Put the two lines together:

φθείρουσιν ἦθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί.
ἐν παντὶ πράγῃ δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς . . .

Notice the ending of the lines, and, what seems to me to settle the matter, the fact that in each case the words which are common to the two lines are preceded by -σθ'. This can scarcely be regarded as coincidence, and I therefore strongly incline to the view that the line in Euripides was a definite reference to, and reminiscence of, the passage in Aeschylus.

That Euripides was influenced by Aeschylus is, of course, well known. He quotes the same play (*Seven against Thebes*) in the *Medea* (l. 523) comparatively early

¹ See the account in Meineke.

³ See Allinson.

² Loeb Classical Library, 1921.

in his career, and it may be that it was a favourite of his; for late in life he writes the *Phoenissae* on the same subject. The manner in which Aristophanes, in the *Frogs*, makes Aeschylus hold up the *Seven against Thebes* to Euripides as a model thus acquires even greater sting.

We have thus seen that the line has a long history. From its origin in Aeschylus it is modified by Euripides, from whom it is annexed by Menander a century later. About B.C. 50 it is used by Diodorus, and then St. Paul takes it up, and it henceforth gains a new circulation; for all the writers who use it refer in the first instance to the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Can we go further and ascertain something of the circumstances under which it was used by Euripides?

Look first at the special characteristics of this line:

(i.) It is a single sentence occupying a single iambic line.

(ii.) It completely lacks any particle or conjunction to connect it with what preceded or followed.

(iii.) Similarly, it contains no proper name, or personal pronoun, or any other word which will link it up with its context.

(iv.) It is of a general or proverbial character.

Now at the outset it must be said that while passages fulfilling these conditions are comparatively rare in Euripides, they are quite common even in our scanty remains of Menander, as an examination of Allinson's volume will show. Long ago Henri Estienne, in the volume to which I have already referred, was able to make a collection of such passages under the heading: 'Gnomae seu Sententiae μονόστιχοι (id est singulae singulis uersibus comprehensae), quae magna ex parte sunt Menandri.' Is it, then, possible that Menander is the original source of our line in its present form, and that the ascription to Euripides is a mistaken one? The only answer that can be given to this is that we cannot go behind our evidence. If this suggestion is correct, then not only is the statement of Socrates wrong, but that of Clement also; and Clement, be it observed, is the earliest writer who gives any indication of the source. And in view of the fact that such lines occur in Euripides, though rarely, there is really no difficulty.

The general characteristics of the line may be summed up by referring to its abruptness—its lack of connexion with its context. Such an abruptness might arise in Euripides either from the dramatic situation of the characters or from the actual position of the words in the scene from which they come. Take these points separately.

The great majority of lines in Euripides which can be quoted as parallels occur in sharp dialogue, where there is often enough a quick thrust and parry. The abruptness then arises from the tenseness of the situation. In the *Trojan Women*, when Hecuba urges Menelaus to deal with Helen at once, while he desires to take her home and judge her there, then at least, says Hecuba, let them go in different ships. Why?

οὐκ ἔστ' ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ. (l. 1051.)
'A lover once will always love again' (Murray).

Or this line from the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in the altercation between Menelaus and Agamemnon:

ἔς κοινὸν ἀλγεῖν τοῖς φίλοισι χρὴ φίλους. (l. 408.)
'Friends with friends should suffer pain together.'

Or again in the tender greeting between Iphigenia and her father. The latter's excuse for not being glad to see her is:

πόλλ' ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ στρατηλάτῃ μέλει. (l. 645.)
'Many cares hath one, at once a king and leader.'

In each of these cases it is the strain of the situation which is responsible for the abruptness. Somehow, however, I feel that the line we are discussing would not quite fit: it seems to me to have no edge to it—that it is too sententious for a tense situation; that it is a comparatively quiet remark.

As I have already suggested, the abruptness may not arise from the dramatic situation at all; it may simply be the consequence of the position of the line in the play. We should not expect to find it in an ordinary conversation, nor in the middle of a long speech. At the beginning of a speech, too, such lines are, as a matter of fact, very uncommon; a speaker will not in general, in Euripides, commence his remarks in so sententious a way. I have found one example, in the *Orestes*, where Pylades has made a helpful suggestion, to which Orestes replies at once:

φεῦ·
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρείσσον ἢ φίλος σαφής.¹ (l. 1155.)
'Ah!
'There is nought better than a manifest friend.'

Another position of the words which might be thought of is in a comment by the Chorus; but in practice generalizing remarks by the Chorus are in either two lines or three. What, then, is left to us? Is it possible that the line we are considering was the first line of its play?

The suggestion is worth considering. There are nineteen extant plays of Euripides, and, thanks largely to Aristophanes, we know the opening line of at least nine others (*Andromeda*, *Antigone*, *Archelaus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Melanippe the Wise*, *Meleager*, *Peliades*, *Phrixus*, *Sthenoboea*). Of these twenty-eight, two (*Rhesus*, *Andromeda*) do not open with iambs; the remainder exhibit apparently the ordinary Euripidean prologue. One of our characteristics is at once manifest; for only four opening lines contain a particle, and that particle is μέν (*Hippolytus*, *Helena*, *Meleager*, *Peliades*). On the other hand, usually some proper name appears, or the first person singular is used. In two instances it is not so. The *Orestes* begins:

Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος
οὐδὲ πάθος, οὐδὲ ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος,
ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

'There is naught so terrible to describe, be it physical pain or heaven-sent affliction, that man's nature may not have to bear the burden of it' (Coleridge)—a commonplace opening presenting a reasonable parallel with our passage, except that it is extended over three lines. The other line, from the lost *Sthenoboea*, is a complete parallel in this respect also:

Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ.²
'No man hath bliss in full and flawless health' (Murray)

—again a commonplace and quiet remark which no one would dispute, and thus resembling the line we are discussing. On these grounds, then, I am disposed to conclude that our passage was the opening line of a play. If this is admitted, then it is not difficult to discover, with some probability, which of the lost plays was concerned.

The Euripidean prologue was a thing quite unique. One of the characters stands before the audience—the stage being otherwise empty—and delivers a long speech, which serves simply to state the precise situation and to introduce such information as the audience—a Greek audience well acquainted with the general trend of the heroic tradition—will find needful for the due appreciation of the action.

¹ 'οὐκ ἔστιν . . .' is a very common locution with Euripides, as will be seen.

² Aristophanes, *Frogs*, l. 1217.

In many cases, therefore, the prologue will go back to what may be, from the point of view of the play itself, 'ancient history.' Thus, the first line of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* relates to Pelops, the great-grandfather of the heroine; in the opening of the *Alcestis*, Apollo refers to his service with Admetus; in that of the *Medea*, the Nurse wishes Argo had never sailed; while the *Hypsipyle* begins with the name of Dionysus, the ancestor of the family. Now, bearing these facts in mind, consider what would be the effect of an opening where a character utters the words:

φθείρουσιν ἡθῆν χρῆσθ' ὀμιλίας κακάι.

A Greek audience must inevitably be reminded of Aeschylus, of the *Seven against Thebes*, and of Amphiarus. The result, then, is much the same as if the name of Amphiarus had actually been introduced, and our knowledge of Euripides leads us to conclude that the play to which this line served as an opening would definitely deal with events tracing their origin to the 'evil association' of Amphiarus with the leaders against Thebes. Now, Greek legend related that Alcmaeon, son of Amphiarus, urged by his father's dying request, and at the admonition of Apollo, murdered his mother Eriphyle as a punishment for having induced her husband to join the expedition, and thereafter, like Orestes, went mad. About Alcmaeon Euripides wrote two plays. Of the *Alcmaeon in Corinth* (one of three plays brought out by Euripides' son after the poet's death) we are told by Apollodorus (iii. 7, 4) that it dealt chiefly with Alcmaeon's recovery of his lost children. The other play, *Alcmaeon in Psophis*, belongs to B.C. 438, the same year as the *Alcestis*. Apollodorus (here without mentioning Euripides), also gives an account of the events which is summarized by Professor Gilbert Murray in *Euripides and his Age* (pp. 73-4). It deals definitely with the punishment and adventures of Alcmaeon, and seems to be a play to which the suggested opening would be very fitting. It preserves, in a noteworthy way, that 'quiet opening' which Professor Murray sees to be so characteristic of Euripides (*ibid.*, p. 210).

It may be said that all this is mere conjecture, and of course it is possible that we are wrong in assigning the line to the beginning of a play. The assumption, however, fits in well with the known facts, and, in addition, can be supported by evidence of an unexpected character.

There are two other passages in the New Testament which St. Paul quotes from Greek authors: *Acts* xvii. 28 (Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, 'For we are also his offspring') and *Titus* i. 12 (Κρήτες δὲι ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, 'Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons'). These passages present two remarkable characteristics. First, like 1 *Cor.* xv. 33, they both appear in more than one author—*Acts* xvii. 28 in Aratus of Soli and in Cleanthes; *Titus* i. 12 in Epimenides of Crete and in Callimachus. Secondly, in three out of the four sources named, the passage quoted occurs within ten lines of the beginning of the poem—Aratus, *Phaenomena*, line 5; Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*, line 8; Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, line 8; in the fourth case, that of Epimenides, the poem is not extant. Whatever the explanation of this remarkable fact, it is clear that it supports our assumption—derived from entirely different evidence—as to 1 *Cor.* xv. 33 being the opening line of its poem.

Why do all these passages occur at the beginning of the works cited? It is to be noted that *Acts* xvii. 28 is quoted from both sources ('As certain also of your own poets have said,' in the plural), while, on the face of it, *Titus* i. 12 is quoted from Epimenides, since in Callimachus only half the line (Κρήτες δὲι ψεύσται) occurs.¹ Yet it is possible that Callimachus might have suggested the whole line to St. Paul. Dean Farrar² believes that St. Paul may have picked up some collection of *Hymns*

¹ The reference to the writer in *Titus* i. 12 seems plainly to mean Epimenides.

² *Life and Work of St. Paul*, Excursus III.

to Zeus on a bookstall at Athens, and thus acquired the lines of Callimachus and Cleanthes. In view of the fact that the two quotations are separated by some fifteen years this does not seem satisfactory. If one considers St. Paul's life, his work as a preacher and organizer, his trade as a tent-maker, his intimate knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, it appears unlikely that he had much time to spare for Greek literature. Further, the classic scenes of Greece seem to have left him unmoved; his impression of Athens itself was that 'it was wholly given to idolatry.' I think the most probable explanation of the facts would be that he had from time to time seen Greek books in the hands of his friends, had glanced at them, and had read just a few lines, which in some cases had made some impression. Some have supposed from these three passages that he was a close student of Greek literature, but it is exceedingly doubtful. For there is one other fact in this connexion which has often been remarked upon. I have quoted 1 *Cor.* xv. 33 as an iambic line, but the great majority of the manuscripts of the New Testament read:

φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί,

a form which spoils the metre, and which would be impossible to a close student of Greek literature. Yet it is certain both from the evidence and the general principle ('*faciliori lectioni praestat ardua*') that this was what St. Paul wrote.

Did the Apostle quote from Menander or Euripides? I incline to believe Euripides; for one reason, because we have seen some grounds to think that the line occurred at the opening of the *Alcmaeon in Psophis*, a position agreeing with St. Paul's habit, and for another, because I really cannot imagine St. Paul taking the slightest interest in Menander, while he might be supposed to have felt some appreciation of the reputation of Euripides.

P. H. LING.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF TERENCE.

WHEN Leo proclaimed to a too credulous world his startling theory of the history of Plautus' text, I had an inkling that the same arguments could be used about Terence as he used about Plautus, but was kept silent by the lack of information on Terence MSS. The large critical edition, Umpfenbach's, had been discredited by Kauer's microscopically close study (prompted by Hauler) of the Codex Bembinus (*A*), a MS. of the 'fourth or fifth' century in rustic capitals. Umpfenbach had ascribed a huge mass of corrections in *A* to a 'corrector recens'; Kauer showed that they came from the pen of Jovialis, a corrector not later than the sixth century, who had 'emended' (i.e. marred) the excellent text of *A* from a Calliopian text. The disastrous recasting of Terence's lines by Calliopius (or a pupil of his) in the fifth (?) century was known to us from the minuscule MSS. (of the ninth and following centuries). Kauer's discovery enables us to see it at an earlier stage—three centuries earlier. Another weakness of Umpfenbach's *apparatus criticus* was that it accepted the lemmata of the Donatus Scholia as genuine. Gradually (very gradually) in this country scholars have recognized that all such lemmata are later accretions. When Donatus' *Commentum Terenti* (or scraps of it, with adventitious matter) was made available for monastery schools in Charlemagne's time (and later), any Terence text that was handy was used to provide the peg on which to hang the scholium. The scholium on *Eun.* 1064 explains Terence's *quod dicas mihi* as a short way of saying *nil est quod dicas mihi*, and is quite at loggerheads with the lemma *NIHIL EST QUOD DICAS MIHI*. That is precisely what Donatus' text of Terence did *not* read (cf. *Eun.* 386, 563; *Hec.* 351; *Ad.* 206, 946, etc.).

Most serious of all, Umpfenbach had not collated all the MSS.; and from Dr. Kauer's report (on Terence literature of 1898-1908) in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, Vol. CXLIII., it was clear that some MSS. ignored by Umpfenbach had strong claims to our respect, especially a Paris codex (*p*) of the tenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10304), a member of the δ -family of Terence MSS., the family or group which is reckoned as next to *A* in value.

Dr. Kauer's painstaking collation—a labour of many years—of *all* the respectable MSS. of the plays has now been put at the disposal of the Clarendon Press for the forthcoming edition of Terence in the *Oxford Classical Texts*. My surmise that Leo's arguments on the text-tradition of Plautus could be capped by identical arguments for Terence is confirmed.

Leo's theory was that Horace's gibes at Plautus, Lucilius, and the rest had driven these authors out of sight and out of mind; that no copy of a play of Plautus could be got for love or money in any part of Italy after Horace's time, though stray copies of single plays were still a possible 'find' for bookstall-prowlers in the provinces; that Valerius Probus picked up some at his native town, Beyrout; that this scanty and poor material rescued by Probus from the scrap-heap was tinkered by subsequent editors into various forms—the form of the 'Ambrosian' edition (represented by the Ambrosian Palimpsest) and the form of the 'Palatine' edition (represented by the minuscule MSS.). To prove that the same miserably defective material was the basis on which the second century (and later) editors raised their editions—if we believe Leo) flimsy, insecure, capricious editions, far removed from the 'ipsa uerba' of Plautus—Leo's strongest argument was his imposing collection

of 'errors common to the two recensions.' These were, he declared, the faults in Probus' material (more of them in one play than in another; for Probus had picked up a goodish copy of, say, the *Persa*, a shocking copy of the *Truculentus*). Leo's list of errors common to the Ambrosian and Palatine editions of Plautus was what won for his theory a temporary acceptance. The list was so long—too long for most people to find the time or to take the trouble to verify each detail. But the preparation of a text for the Oxford Series demanded this time and trouble. And soon it appeared that the list was more imposing than solid. A great part consisted of 'errors' like these: *ut* for *uti*, *reliquum* for *relicuom*, *illic* for *illi* 'there,' *mensae* for *mensai* (trisyllable)—that is to say, substitutions of the classical for the ancient and obsolete forms, or of the more for the less familiar.

We have only six plays of Terence against the twenty-one (or rather twenty) of Plautus; therefore a Terence list must not be expected to be more than one-third of a Plautus list. The requisite third can be provided with the greatest ease from Dr. Kauer's *apparatus criticus*. Errors like *ut* for *uti*, *Eun.* 364; *educare* for *educere*, *Eun.* 117; *puer* for *puere*, *Eun.* 624, etc. *Protinam* is attested for *Phorm.* 190 by Festus 253, 17, and Donatus ('sic Nigidius legit'); but all our MSS. show *protinus*, and *protinus* appears to have been in the MSS. used by Nonius 87, 26, and Arusianus Messius 482, 14.

Another unconvincing part of Leo's list was the 'inevitable' type of error, the error into which nine out of ten scribes might be expected to fall. How can we be sure that the scribe of an 'Ambrosian' text and the scribe of a 'Palatine' text did not fall into such an error quite independently of each other? Similar errors in all extant Terence MSS. are, e.g.:

Haut. 168-9 *miseretque me eius, sed ut diei tempus est*
tempust monere me hunc uicinum Phanium.

Tempus est tempus est (or *tempust*). Inevitably there would be Haplography (and there is in all our Terence MSS.). If a transcriber resisted it, the corrector of the transcription would succumb to it. Is there not every likelihood that a 'Bembinian'-text scribe and a 'Calliopian'-text scribe fell into the error quite independently of each other? Leo argued—and succeeded in convincing quite a number of people by the argument—that the occurrence of an error like this both in the Ambrosian Palimpsest and in the minuscule MSS. (i.e. in the lost ninth-century archetype of these) was proof positive that *all* ancient texts of Plautus shared this error—an error therefore of the original Probus material. Luckily we can appeal to ancient commentaries on Terence (we have none on Plautus) as well as to extant Terence MSS. And the Bembinian scholiast's remark on this line shows that in the text which he was using the phrase was correctly repeated: *tempus supra horam significat*—i.e. in the first occurrence of the phrase *tempus* means *hora*, in the second the word has another meaning.

Eun. 95 *ne crucia te obsecro, anime mi, mi Phaedria* (*anime mi Ph.* in all MSS.).

Donatus' text preserved the correct form, as we see from his commentary (not from the adventitious lemma).

Umpfenbach ingeniously ascribed this error to our MSS. at *Hec.* 201:

itaque adeo uno animo omnes socrus oderunt nurus.

He conjectured:

itaque adeo uno animo omnes socrus oderunt, oderunt nurus,

thereby adapting the line to the metre of its neighbours, iambic octonarii. But iambic senarii appear at 205-6, 215-6; and this line is cited (in the traditional form apparently) as an example of deliberate ambiguity (like 'Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos uincere posse') by Donatus and by Donatus' pupil St. Jerome (*adu. Iovinianum* and

in *Michaeam*, and is (seemingly) so quoted by Donatus at another part (or parts) of his commentary. Therefore, on the whole, I incline to retain it unaltered as an iambic senarius (with the unusual shortening *socrūs*). But I wonder whether *rape* should be repeated at *Andr.* 861 (iambic octonarius):

DA. audi obsecro. DR. quid uis? SI. sublimem intro rape hunc quantum potest.

This line (a very passionless rhythm for so passionate a situation) is not in *A*, for *A* hardly begins till *Andr.* 889; only so much can be seen that in *A* it ended in *rape*. Since Simo's apoplectic passion with Davus vents itself in repetition in the preceding line (trochaic septenarius):

SI. Dromo, Dromo. DA. quid est? SI. Dromo. DA. audi. SI. uerbum si addideris . . .! Dromo,

one is tempted to write:

DA. audi obsecro. DR. quid uis? SI. sublimem intro rape hunc, quantum pote (or *potēst*), rape:

However, in all MSS. of Terence line-division is not invariably accurate (in some the plays are written as prose), and *A* shares this failing. So the 'emendation' is doubtful.

To return from the fields of fancy to the hard road of fact, there is a small remnant of Leo's examples which do seem to give valid evidence. And there is a corresponding number to be found in Terence MSS. All MSS. show some incorrect lines, e.g.:

Phorm. 936-7 PH. immo uero uxorem tu cedo. DE. in ius ambula
[in ius] PH. enimuero si porro esse odiosi pergitis.

Really this is a very strong example. Or should the second *in ius* be written 'extra metrum' as a separate line? Hardly.

Haut. 798 omnes te in lauta et benefacta parte putant.

This line has not yet found its physician.

Haut. 827 is transposed (after line 825).

Haut. 829 ubi Clitipho hic est? (A common parent with *hinc* for *hic* is suggested by this variety: *hinc* in the Bembinus, *nunc* in the minuscule MSS., though two MSS. of the δ-family have hit on the right reading *hic*.)

Haut. 527 uicinum hunc: nostin? at quasi is non ditiis
abundet, gnatus eius profugit inopia.

A common parent seems to have had *qui si* for *quasi*. For *A* reads *at quit* (altered by Jovialis to *atqui*) *si* is, while the minuscule MSS. have variously *atqui si is*, *adquid si is*, as well as the true version.

Eun. 57: the 'nota' of Parmeno is wrongly prefixed to this line in all MSS. (except one of the δ-family).

Eun. 351 CH. eho, Parmeno mi, nostin? [PA. noui. CH.] et scis ubi siet?

This suggests a solution of the *Phorm.* 937 problem. These insertions, which mar the metre, may be mere stage conventions. The PA. *noui* here may correspond to a nod of the head; the repetition of *in ius* in the *Phormio* line to a wave of the hand. Similarly in *Eun.* 699 *non* merely represents a shake of the head, though some corrector of the text made a whole line out of it by adding *nec . . . diciet* (words omitted in *A* and in some minuscule MSS.).

Eun. 560 (between trochaic septenarii and long iambic lines):

quid taces? CH. o festus dies hominis amice salue.

Since *hominis* is confirmed by Donatus ('pro homo festi diei'), the error may be the

'inevitable' error—Haplography; and the line may be a trochaic septenarius (with 'syllaba anceps' to mark the pause before Chaerea pulls himself together and returns his friend's greeting):

quid taces? CH. o festus festus dies hominis . . . amice, salve.

These examples will suffice, though there are plenty more. It is not impossible that they (all or some) are errors common to the 'Bembinus' and the 'Calliopian' editions. Says the reader: So your cursing of Leo has ended in blessing? No; the reader misses the point. The point is that Leo used these errors common to the Ambrosian and Palatine editions as proof that no good material for constructing a text of Plautus was available at the Archaic Revival in the second century A.D. Now Leo makes a strong contrast between Terence and Plautus. The Terence text, according to him, had *not* suffered the same shipwreck as the text of Plautus. I show that precisely the same evidence could be adduced for a Terence wreck as he has adduced for a Plautus wreck.

And since a larger list can be compiled from the *Hautontimorumenos* than any other play (the *Eunuchus* comes next), Leo would have to admit (what he would never dream of admitting) that only one copy—a villainous copy—of this play had survived the Augustan Age, just as (by his theory) a desperately villainous text of the *Truculentus*.

By the way, one of Leo's proofs of 'defective material tinkered into different shapes by different editors' was put in true light by Sonnenschein. Two similar neighbouring lines had been 'fused.' I find a precise parallel in Terence:

Haut. 996 (ending in) Sv. sat recte hoc mihi,

is followed in *A* by:

in mentem uenit namque adulescens maxume huic uisa haec suspicio;

in the minuscule MSS. by:

in mentem uenit namque adulescens quam in minima spe situs.

Then comes the line:

erit, tam facillime patris pacem in leges conficiet suas.

The original form of the passage may have been something like this:

Sv. sat recte hoc mihi

in mentem uenit, nam quam maxume huic uisa haec suspicio

erit uera (?), quamque adulescens maxume quam in minima spe situs

erit, tam facillime patris pacem in leges conficiet suas.

Enough has been said of Leo's theory, for it seems nowadays to have gone to limbo. It is a very interesting task to edit Terence after having edited Plautus. The likeness in the text-tradition of the two comedians is as instructive as the unlikeness. For Terence as for Plautus we have (1) a MS. of the ancient world—the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus, the Codex Bembinus of Terence—with an excellent text; (2) a number of minuscule MSS. (of the tenth century, etc.) with a text of a quite different recension from the ancient MS. The minuscule MSS. of Plautus are all descendants of one lost minuscule MS. of, say, the ninth century, a transcript presumably of a MS. of the ancient world. What of the minuscule MSS. of Terence? Everyone is agreed that there are two families (γ and δ); and since in MSS. of both families the Calliopian 'subscriptio' appears at the end of plays—*Calliopi recensui* or *feliciter Callipio bono scholastico*—all the minuscule MSS. are usually traced back to this 'Calliopian' edition. Did, then, two ancient MSS. of the Calliopian text survive to the modern world? Or only one? The chief difference between the γ and δ families is not the presence or absence of pictures (see Hauler's edition of the *Phormio*), but the order of the plays: in γ , *Andr.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.*, *Ad.*, *Hec.*,

Phorm.; in δ , *Andr.*, *Ad.*, *Eun.*, *Phorm.*, *Haut.*, *Hec.* Also the δ -readings are often better than the γ -readings. Kauer, by his collation of the Paris MS. *p* (not used by Umpfenbach), has greatly improved our knowledge of the δ -text. And he has brought to light some interesting entries (scarcely noticed by Umpfenbach) in a leading MS. of the δ -family, a Florence MS. (*D*), e.g.:

Andr. 720 (where the δ -reading is *dolorem*) 'uel laborem secundum Donatum.'

825 (mentioned by Umpfenbach) 'legitur et quod iubet secundum Donatum' (he means *iubet*).

Eun. 274 'aliter animi pro animo secundum Donatum.'

They suggest that some corrector had used a full (?) Donatus (now lost) to improve the Calliopian text. Is that the secret of the frequent superiority of the δ -version? Look at this specimen of *p*'s virtuous record:

Andr. 536 *ausculta pauca*.

So Donatus, as Priscian II. 281 and 320 tells us: 'quod etiam Donati commentum approbat'; 'sic enim habent antiqui codices teste Donato commentatore Terentii.' All the minuscule MSS. (the Bembinus is not in evidence) have *paucis*, except that in two of the γ -family *paucas* preceded *paucis*. Since *paucis* would have to be dative, not ablative, and since the accusative is the right construction with this sense of *ausculta*, we must alter *Ad.* 806 to *ausculta pauca* (not *vice versa*, as in the great Latin *Thesaurus*).

Hec. 106 *di amabunt* ('amabunt pro ament,' Donatus; *ament*, *A*, which ruins the metre; *bene ament* the Calliopian text, which restores the metre).

Eun. 132 *is ubi esse hanc forma uidet honesta uirginem*.

Here *p* confirms Bentley's addition of *esse*, a word omitted in all the MSS.

But I fear that those hard-hearted gentlemen who rule this journal will not allow me space for labouring this point. So I pass to another. Kauer has unearthed some short-hand entries in a MS. (*P*) of the γ -family which mention a 'uetustus liber' (e.g. *Eun.* 723 'uetustus exsolues'). The phrase thrills. Can it mean a fifth- or sixth-century MS. with noble uncials on creamy vellum? Who can say? And if it does, was that the fountain-head also of the δ -group? Who can say?

The history of the Plautus text is far easier to trace than of the Terence text. For Terence was a schoolbook not only through the centuries of the Roman Empire, but also in the monastery schools. Terence was widely read; the ramifications of the text-tradition are intricate and perplexing. In my *Ancient Editions of Plautus* (now published by the Oxford University Press) I have tried to show that the main difference between the 'Ambrosian' and the 'Palatine' text is that the former adopted (roughly speaking) the 'ipsa uerba' of Plautus, whereas the latter represented the acting text, the text as recast at stage revivals of the plays. The Terence text is not wholly without trace of such a variety. In ancient Plautus texts (as Seyffert showed) the shortening of a too long scene was indicated by writing in the margin (at the beginning of the passage to be omitted) the line to which the actor was to pass. (Leo had called these things 'transpositions of lines, errors common to the two recensions.') Do not we find something like this in the *Hecyra*, where *A* (but not Donatus) omits line 791, which in some other MSS. appears after 783? And in the *Hautontimorumenos*, where lines 509-11 follow line 497? The 'Palatine' edition often preserved both settings of a line, the 'genuine' and the 'revival' versions. I fancy that the Calliopian edition did this at *Phorm.* 562:

solus est homo amico amicus. Græ. eamus ergo ad eum ocius.

So in both *A* and the minuscule MSS. But some of the latter have in the margin an alternative version of the second half:

PH. abi dic praesto ut sit domi.

And possibly at *Hec.* 468, where *A* has *omnia*, while *p* has *modo*, and the other minuscule MSS. *omnia modo* (which will not scan):

omnem rem scio ut sit gesta: adueniens audiui modo (or *aud. omnia*).

But the traces of such things in the Terence text are too faint to be quite convincing. No; the Terence text has quite a different history from the Plautus text. Terence was a school-book; and while an editor of Plautus has to ask himself: 'Is this what Plautus wrote, or has the line been recast at a subsequent performance of the play?' an editor of Terence must substitute the question: 'Has this line been altered by schoolmaster-editors for school purposes?'

Donatus' remark on *Andr.* 653 is a μέγας ὀφθαλμός:

scio cum patre altercasti dudum, etc.

'legitur et altercatus es (-catu's?), non enim alterco dicimus.' Did teachers (*grammatici* or *rhetores* in ancient times, *praeceptores* of the monastery college or the monastery school) alter the text to help their pupils or to save themselves from awkward questions by their pupils? Donatus, in his note on *Hec.* 206:

non, ita me di bene ament,

points out the Cacemphaton produced by reading the phrase without a pause after *non*, and remarks that the ancients tolerated this fault (i.e. while his own contemporaries did not). We may find here the reason why so many MSS. omit *non* in this line (to the ruin of the metre; but Terence's and Plautus' metre was not understood in these times). The more unpleasant type of Cacemphaton, the phrase which has malodorous suggestion, would be still more avoided by editors of a school text (especially a text for monastery schools), and it is significant that the grammarians' stock example comes from Terence (*Andr.* 933). Anyone who reads Diomedes' remarks on Cacemphaton (*Gram. Lat.* I. 376, 10) or Eugraphius' note on *Eun.* 598 will half (or more than half) suspect that here lies the reason for the substitution of *perfidies* in *Eun.* 51, and *aduertite* in *Andr.* 10, *Eun.* 44.

Grammatical alterations are as easy to understand. How could a teacher drive into his pupils' heads the rule that the subjunctive mood is the mood of indirect question if their Terence lesson provided examples of the indicative? Substitution of subjunctives for indicatives is a feature of Terence MSS. at lines like *Eun.* 265:

PA. uiden otium et cibus quid facit alienus? etc.,

where Donatus' note shows how early was the substitution of *faciat*: 'legitur quid facit, ut sit figura per modos pro quid faciat.'

From Fronto's letters to his royal pupils, not to mention Nonius' chapter *De Proprietate Sermonum*, we see what stress the rhetorical teacher laid on the use of the *uox propria*, the 'mot juste.' Terence was adopted for schools on account of his *proprietas* (Serv. in *Aen.* I. 410). How, then, could a flaw be allowed to remain in the model? At *Eun.* 632:

peiolem partem. quid opust uerbis? dum haec puto
praeterii inprudens uillam,

the *uox propria* (at least in the Classical Age and subsequently) was *reputo*. Donatus comments: 'puto est ἀφαίρεσις pro reputo.' The Calliopian text sacrifices metre to 'proprietas' and reads *reputo*. I say 'the Calliopian text' deliberately, for in the first place the 'subscriptio' already mentioned FELICITER CALLIOPIO BONO SCHOLASTICO suggests that it was rather a student than the professor himself who perpetrated this edition (see my *Ancient Editions of Martial* on the student editions of the fifth century); and in the second place, since Jovialis changes the *puto* of *A* to *reputo*, it is clear that the substitution is not due to a Carolingian 'praeceptor.'

Have we the key to the Calliopian text at *Eun.* 957?

PA. quid ais? PY. nunc minatur porro sese id quod moechis solet.

So *A* and Donatus, who comments 'deest facturum.' The minuscule MSS. replace *porro* by *id facturum*. And this is Calliopian, for Jovialis expunges *porro* in *A* and substitutes *facturum*. How did the Calliopian text come to murder the metre like this? I strongly suspect that Calliopius handed to a pupil his own lecture text (hence the CALLIOPIVS RECENSVI is justified), and that the pupil was left alone to frame the edition (hence the FELICITER CALLIOPIO BONO SCHOLASTICO). On the young knave (not on Professor Fairface) lies the guilt. He mistook for variant readings or emendations the explanatory words written between the lines in the lecture text. The professor had used Donatus' commentary in preparing his lectures, and finding there 'deest facturum' wrote *facturum* above the elliptic phrase. No blame attaches to the professor. Far from it. The whole guilt lies on the pupil-editor. (The professor was, I fancy and hope, dead before the edition appeared.) And Jovialis has much to answer for, who defaces the Bembine text with these glosses which reduce Terence's verse to prose and overload the terse conversational diction of the Roman Menander. Again I must leave this theory undeveloped. But anyone who looks through the *apparatus criticus* for a few pages of the new Oxford edition will recognize that this is the characteristic difference of the Calliopian from the other text.

To return to the subject of 'proprietas.' An editor of Terence has often to decide between two variant words. Which is the 'ipsum uerbum' of Terence, which the later substitution? Substitution may be due to: (1) A mere scribal error (scribes often substitute one synonym for another, e.g. *metuo* for *timeo*); (2) a theatre-manager's wish to replace an old-fashioned word by the current word, or a teacher's wish to substitute for the pupil's benefit the 'uox propria'; (3) the admission of a gloss which ousts the true word. Now we know the language of Cicero's time better than the language of Terence's time. Donatus, who had the old commentaries to keep him right, tells us (at *Hec.* 755) that *explere* in the sense of *emunire* 'Terentianum est.' Another note of his suggests a Terentian nuance of *expecto*, and makes one think that Calliopius (to give the professor the credit of it) is right with *expectatam* in *Haut.* 408, and that the variant *exoptatam* was a gloss. I marvel at the temerity of scholars (more than one) who tamper with *aeque quicquam* in *Andr.* 434 (spoken by the slave Davus). For it is confirmed by Donatus' note 'hoc est nihil,' and by the sixth (?) century pseudo-Placidus glossary (which seems often to preserve for us the remarks of the earliest 'glossographi') 'aeque quicquam: nihil.' Terence had (like Dickens) a flair for characteristic words—words which lie a little way off the common road. Why may not *aeque quicquam*, 'nothing in particular,' have been as characteristic for a devil-may-care servant as *tenno* (*Phorm.* 330) for bird-catchers? From 'horsey' language Terence takes *hortamenta*, 'stimulating food' (Eugraphius derives it from *hortari*), *Haut.* 836:

CH. minas quidem iam decem habet a me filia
quas hortamentis esse nunc duco datas;
hasce ornamentis consequentur alterae.

The word is preserved in very few MSS. [Mr. Weir in this journal (XVI. 49) showed us that it stood in a lost Spanish MS. used by the compiler of the Abolita Glossary, and had a marginal or interlinear explanation *alimentis*]. It is not surprising that most have substituted *ornamentis*, since *ornamentis* occurs in the next line. But it is very surprising that Umpfenbach should prefer a variant which is clearly a gloss-changeling, *pro alimentis*.

If there was any one fault that the 'rhetores' denounced more than another it was Hiatus. Even Cicero (*Or.* 152), not so far removed from the time of the poets

'qui ut uersum facerent saepe hiabant,' tries to make it grate on his readers' ears when he mentions it: 'orationes illae | ipsae | horridulae Catonis.' Hauler, who knows his Terence better than anyone, showed that Hiatus sanctioned by Terence had been removed by ancient editorial recasting; but Leo would have none of it (*Plaut. Forsch.* 3 n., 'Die Ueberlieferung lehrt uns also, dass Terenz ueberhaupt keinen Hiatus zugelassen hat'). In my *Early Latin Verse* I have argued that Hiatus is as much a feature of dramatic verse after as before Terence, which suggests editorial interference with the Terence text. Further, that Hiatus and Syllaba Anceps go hand in hand as the two Latin methods of expressing a pause in the utterance of a line; and Syllaba Anceps cannot be ruled out from Terence. How natural is Hiatus at *Andr.* 593, where Davus cannot find all at once how to save the situation:

DA. occidi. SI. hem,
quid dixti? | DA. optume inquam factum, etc.

Of course it is easy to substitute *dixisti* or to repeat *dixti*. But I prefer the line as it is in the MSS. Donatus tells us that Terence used *sum*, in the archaic way, for *eum* (I fancy the line is a quotation from an old-time poet) at *Phorm.* 1028:

faxo tali sum mactatum atque hic ęst infortunio.

So there was Hiatus at the Diaeresis of the Septenarius. And it still appears in most MSS., in spite of their substitution of *eum* for *sum*, not, however, in *A* and some MSS. of the δ -family with *sit mactatus*. A better example of deliberate editorial effacement of Hiatus is *Haut.* 83:

quaeso, quid de te tantum meruisti? | ME. eheu,

where *eheu* (*heu*) is confirmed by the grammarian Sacerdos (*Gram. Lat.* VI. 447, 8), and is the reading in most MSS. of Terence, while a few substitute *ei mihi* for *eheu* and remove the Hiatus. Another suitable line for Hiatus (to express Demea's pause while he thinks out a fresh outlay for his brother) is *Ad.* 947:

MI. quid nunc quod restat? DE. Hegio . . . est his cognatus proxumus.

And these instances are by no means all.

To pass to other examples of editorial interference with the text. What of that canker, conjectural emendation? Our verdict must be 'pessime Donatus' at *Hec.* 606:

PA. uae misero mihi!

So. et mihi quidem; nam haec res non minu' me male habet, etc.

Donatus is peeved (why?) at *et mihi* ($\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{o}\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, quid enim 'et mihi'? an 'ei'?). No MS., however, of Terence seems to offer *ei mihi*. Jovialis seems to try his hand on *Haut.* 115, *sapientia* for *beneuolentia*:

putauit me et aetate et beneuolentia
plus scire et prouidere quam se ipsum sibi.

A needless (and unmetrical) alteration. Calliopius (?) on *Haut.* 912:

quemquamne animo tam comi esse aut leni putas?

where the 'common parent MS.' had *communi* instead of *comi*. He deleted *ne*, I fancy, for the minuscule MSS. mostly omit it. If Donatus is right, Terence was lax at *Phorm.* 249:

molendum esse in pistrino, uapulandum, habendae compedes,

'uitiosam locutionem seruili personae dedit Terentius; nam integrum esset si diceret *habendas compedes*; unde quidam non *esse* sed *usque* legunt.' *A* and *p* have

esse, but *esse usque* or *est usque* appears in the others. And Jovialis' alteration of *A* seems to be *est usque*. In *Haut.* 672 (by Syrus, the slave):

nil est : triumpho si licet me latere tecto abscedere,

latere is of course ablative of *latus*, and *tecto* participle of *tego*. But confusion with the infinitive of *lateo* and the noun for 'house' has produced these variants in our MSS.: 'latenter tecto; latere et tecto; l. tecto et absc.,' etc. That is presumably Carolingian emendation, like *tandem* for *aetatem* (by someone who did not understand the word) in *Haut.* 716:

quid, malum, me aetatem censes uelle id adsimularier?

A more commendable, but hardly right, emendation is mentioned by Donatus at *Andr.* 592:

DA. quidnam audio? ~ SI. gnatam ut det oro, etc.

'legitur et *audiam*. Menander enim sic ait: τί ποτ' ἀκούσομαι;'

But why spend more words on the reckless vagaries of conjectural emendation?

W. M. LINDSAY.

THE *COPA*—II.

(Continued from the 'Classical Quarterly,' April, 1923.)

III. PRIORITY QUESTION: *COPA*—VIRGIL.

IN common with other poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, *Copa* has incurred the *a priori* suspicion of forgery or post-Virgilian imitation. But if, as I have tried to show, *Copa* was written under the direct and immediate influence of Theocritus, that suspicion can no longer be permitted to colour and confuse the enquiry into *Copa's* date and authorship. The poem has acquired the right to do battle with the *Eclogues* on equal terms for the palm of priority.

The question may be put in all seriousness: Did *Copa* precede the *Eclogues* or did the *Eclogues* precede *Copa*?

In default of sure external evidence, it is not, perhaps, to be expected that any definite proof one way or the other can be given; and I would not venture to claim as decisive the arguments which I shall here advance in favour of *Copa's* priority.

Supplemented, however, by the familiar traditional evidence these arguments seem to me at least worth a few moments' consideration.

I would claim the truth of a general working rule for the following proposition, that, where two poets who consciously imitate a third poet depart from that poet (in the immediate context where they imitate him) in an identical manner, there we have a *prima facie* case to show that one of the two plagiarizing poets is imitating the other.

Such a rule may admit of special exceptions. The laws of probability acquire universal validity only by calling on the sanction of infinitude, upon which our finite processes have no claim to make.

There may be, indeed, in the lines *ex hypothesi* imitated by the two later poets something of such a nature as to make their common departure from the source natural or possible, granted peculiar circumstances of temperament, education, environment.

That chance, however, is surely slender enough to be ignored in considering the relationship between *Copa* 18-19, *Eclogues* II. 51-53, *Eclogue* I. 79-81:

Copa.

- 18 Sunt autumnali cerea pruna die,
19 castaneaeque nuces et suaue rubentia
mala.

Eclogues II.

- 51 Ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine
mala,
52 castaneasque nuces, mea quas Am-
ryllis amabat;
53 addam cerea pruna: honos erit huic
quoque pomo.

Eclogue I. 79 Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
80 fronde super uiridi. sunt nobis mitia poma,
81 castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis.

For in *Copa* and *Eclogues* II. here we have not only one common departure—viz., 'castaneaeque nuces,' from the common source, Theocritus VII., but actually a second¹ in the somewhat striking adjective 'cerea.'

¹ Moreover, both *Copa* and *Eclogues* II. bring are found at a considerable interval apart in closely together the lizards and cicalae which Theoc. VII. 21-22 and 138-139.

Nor would it be reasonable to assume that both *Copa* and *Eclogues* II. follow a common translation of Theocritus. Virgil, at least, in his *Eclogues* manifestly employs Theocritus at first hand: and, I have tried to show, *Copa's* imitations of the Greek are immediate reproductions of the original.

Now, if either *Eclogues* II. imitates *Copa* here or *Copa* imitates *Eclogues* II., and if at least *Copa* 18-19 imitates Theoc. VII. 144-146, then one might make play with the fact that, while *Copa* imitates Theoc. VII. where *Eclogues* II. does not, *Eclogues* II. happens to imitate Theoc. VII. only where *Copa* does—*Copa's* imitations of Theoc. VII. include and go beyond those of *Eclogues* II.¹ Thus, it could be urged, while we have evidence to show that *Copa* imitates Theoc. VII. at first hand, what evidence is there that *Eclogues* II. also does? Is it not a strange chance that *Copa's* author should select all² the imitations of Theoc. VII. to be found in *Eclogues* II., while ignoring so many imitations of Theoc. XI., III., VI.?

But such a *tour de force*, if by no means to be altogether lightly disregarded, has its dangers.

The vast amount of Virgilian imitation of Theocritus scattered all over the *Eclogues* almost demonstrates that, wherever Virgil approaches his Sicilian model, he comes to it, by whatever path led thereto, in the end face to face and works with a clear consciousness of the original before him.

Further, 'anethi' (*Eclogues* II. 48) in its context does certainly appear to be a reminiscence of Theoc. VII. 62, the particular plant ousting *σελίνοις* of Theoc. III. 23.

Instead, then, of adopting the summary method, I would simply present the few following points which seem to have bearing on the case and leave it as a study in probabilities:

(i.) Theoc. VII. is the primary source for *Copa*: Theoc. VII. is a comparatively insignificant source for *Eclogues* II.

(ii.) Theoc. VII. is only employed by *Eclogues* II. where (i.e. in the immediate context where) Theoc. VII. is employed by *Copa*, and the reverse does not hold true.

(iii.) To consider together the three passages of *Copa*, *Ecl.* I., *Ecl.* II. quoted above on p. 37:

(a) Here *Eclogues* I. uses Theoc. XI. 44 sqq., as v. 79 shows.

Here *Copa* uses Theoc. XI. 44 sqq., as 'sunt . . . sunt' shows.

Here *Eclogues* II. appears not to use Theoc. XI. 44 sqq., although making extensive use of Theoc. XI. elsewhere. *Eclogues* II. departs uniquely from the Theocritean *ἐντι* . . . *ἐντι* with 'legam,' 'addam,' not to mention 'mea quas Amaryllis amabat.'

(β) Here *Eclogues* I. appears not to use Theoc. VII. 144 sqq. We find 'poma' instead of 'mala' (*μᾶλα*): and, so far as I have discovered, *Eclogues* I. as a whole has little or nothing to do with Theoc. VII.

Here *Copa* uses Theoc. VII. 144 sqq., as I have attempted to show by parallel citations between the two poems.

Here *Eclogues* II. appears to use Theoc. VII. 144 sqq., but it is only because of the resemblance between *Copa* and *Eclogues* II. here and our previous knowledge of *Copa's* source that we can be sure that *Eclogues* II. is following Theoc. VII. here.

(γ) One of these three passages, I assume, coming first into the world of Latin poetry inspired the second or the second and third.

Eclogues I. here cannot have inspired those portions of *Eclogues* II. and *Copa* which are traceable to Theoc. VII.: it has no independent contact with Theoc. VII. in the immediate passage under review.

¹ The same argument does not hold good in favour of priority of *Eclogues* II. against *Copa* in regard to their imitations of Theoc. XI.

² At least, I have found no others; though it is hazardous to be dogmatic on the point.

Eclogues II. here cannot have inspired those portions of *Eclogues* I. and *Copa* which are traceable to Theoc. XI.: it has not independent contact with Theoc. XI. in the immediate passage under review.

But *Copa* can have inspired those portions of both *Ecl.* I. and *Ecl.* II. which are traceable ultimately to Theoc. VII. and XI.

(δ) The case against the priority of *Eclogues* I. here is quite strong.

Ecl. I. ignores the Theocritean 'pruna' and adds the 'castaneae'—that is, includes the departure which comes as an extension of the Theocritean list of fruits of the trees—changes 'mala' to 'poma'—and, while thus resembling *Copa* based on Theoc. VII., has no distinctive feature of Theoc. VII. finally.

(ε) The case against the priority of *Eclogues* II. here is not so strong: for there we find both 'mala' and 'pruna,' as in Theocritus. However we may vex the poet's mind in such a case we may still be far from fathoming the cross-currents running beneath the smooth surface of his finished product.

But, may one not ask, recognizing the limitations of such a method as is followed here, if the author of *Eclogues* I. or the author of *Eclogues* II. or the author of *Copa* started this chestnut rolling, is not he most likely to have given the initial impetus of whom alone of the three it can be said that his direct debt to Theoc. VII. is manifest here in this isolated passage, and who alone of the three uses 'autumnali' corresponding to ὀπώρας of Theoc. VII. 143?

IV. AUTHORSHIP—VIRGILIAN.

As to the question of Virgilian authorship, perhaps the *Copa's* claim to be recognized as the work of the foremost Augustan poet stands or falls to some extent with that of other poems contained in the *Appendix Vergiliana* and ascribed traditionally to Virgil. Could it be shown beyond cavil or reasonable doubt that *Culex*, for example, or *Dirae* is Virgilian, that would immensely strengthen the value of the tradition ascribing any other poem of the collection to Virgil.

But that support cannot yet be claimed for *Copa*: and, in default of decisive external evidence, perhaps the following few points may have some interest and value when urged in support of the tradition:

(i.) If it is granted that *Copa* imitates Theoc. VII. at first hand and that either *Copa* imitates *Eclogues* II. or *Eclogues* II. imitates *Copa*, then—

(α) If *Eclogues* II. is prior, it argues a strange familiarity with Virgil's practice on the part of *Copa's* author that he should have been able to catch up the slight hints of Theoc. VII. 62-64 and 144-146 given by *Eclogues* II. 47-49 and 51-53 (not obviously at first sight following Theoc. VII.), and have thus been led to use their support in his own imitation of Theocritus; and

(β) If *Copa* is prior, it argues familiarity with the practice of *Copa's* author on the part of Virgil that he should have (in *Eclogues* II. 48) been attracted to Theoc. VII. 62, the direct source of *Copa's* corresponding lines, though Virgil had at the same time in mind *Ecl.* III. 23.

(ii.) If *Copa* depends directly on Theoc. VII. and XI., then the method of adaptation from Theocritus is in *Copa* substantially that pursued in the *Eclogues*. The idyllic motives of Sicily are brought lower in order that they may raise the common-places of a workaday world. How many poets can there have been composing in this manner and capable under such conditions of retaining a portion of the Theocritean charm?

It was in all probability Virgil who set the fashion of that style the first, and if *Copa* is to be dated before Propertius¹ the rivals must have got very speedily to work if Virgil was not the author.

¹ See pp. 40, 41, 42.

(iii.) If *Copa* depends on Theoc. VII. and XI. directly, then the fact that we find a poem in imitation of Theocritus included amongst the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana* strengthens the evidence of tradition ascribing that collection to Virgil.

(iv.) The trick of reproducing the sound of the Greek by Latin of a different meaning is typically Virgilian, and is so noted by Aulus Gellius on 'Inoo Melicertae.' If *Copa's* 'lassus iam sudat asellus') (Theocritus' ἐξᾶς οὐδὲν ἔλασσαν is an instance of that trick of 'translation,' we have in *Copa* an example of a Virgilian mannerism.

Propertius appears to have known of the *Copa* and to have imitated it, to judge by the number and nature of *Copa* echoes present in his works, the more notable of which are contained in the list below (pp. 41, 42).

Propertius IV. ii. might be made the test of priority.

If it be granted that there is an imitative relationship between Prop. IV. ii. and *Copa*, and that *Copa* imitates Theoc. VII. and XI. at first hand, it is Propertius who is the imitator of *Copa*, since he retains some and not all of the Theocritean features in *Copa* and alters others.

Thus, Theocritean ἐντι . . . ἐντι is 'sunt . . . sunt' in *Copa*; but 'hic . . . hic' in Propertius.

ἀμπελος ἃ γλυκαρπός is 'lentis uua racemis' in *Copa*; but 'liuentibus uua racemis' in Propertius, who here introduces the idea of colour and exchanges Theocritean ἔστ' (*Copa's* sunt) for 'uariat.'

'Pruna' in Propertius is *Copa's* 'pruna' and Theocritean; but 'cerasos' is Propertius' addition.

'Mala' in *Copa* is Theocritean μῆλα; but Propertius has 'pomosa' in Prop. IV. ii. 17.

Interesting is the relationship between *Copa* 15-16:

Et quae uirgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia uimineis attulit in calathis.

And Propertius III. [IV.] xiii. [xii.] 29-30:

Nunc uiolas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre
lilia uirgineos lucida per calathos.

In this middle portion of his poem (vv. 25-42) Propertius manifestly imitates (i.) Theoc. XI. at first hand; (ii.) Virgil, *Eclogues* II. at first hand; (iii.) Virgil, *Georgics* I. at first hand.¹

But vv. 29-30 are extraordinarily like *Copa* 15-16. *Copa* imitates Theoc. XI., and has strong resemblances to *Eclogues* II.; so that it would not be altogether surprising if Propertius, with Theoc. XI. and *Eclogues* II. running in his head, should

¹ Direct imitation of Theoc. XI. is perhaps shown by 'lilia lucida' (v. 30), the adjective reproducing that of κρίνα λευκά (Theoc. XI. 56): certainly by 'uacuum pastoris in aulam dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oues,' which is a translation of Theoc. XI. 12 πολλάκι ταί οἱες ποτὶ τω ὄλιον αὐταὶ ἀπήνθον, with, I should say, the memory of Virgilian pastoral works in Propertius' head. Propertius is thinking here of the simple Cyclops' cave and his offerings to Galatea—hence 'furtiua per antra' of v. 33.

Direct imitation of *Eclogues* II. 45-48 is shown by 'nunc uiolas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre lilia uirgineos lucida per calathos' (vv. 29-30): for, while *Eclogues* II. imitates Theoc. XI. (which Propertius also has in mind), the Virgilian violets are culled from Theoc. VII. 63-64. Virgil combined Theoc. XI. and VII. for his list of garland-

flowers, and so came to bring violets and lilies (*inter alia*) together. Propertius, who makes no direct use of Theoc. VII. and whose plan is very far away from that poem, simply takes over what he finds in Virgil. The violets are not of Theoc. XI. It is easy enough to see how Propertius was led to *Eclogues* II. and Theoc. XI.

His poem is an elaboration of the Virgilian 'sordent tibi munera nostra': *Eclogues* II. uses Theoc. XI. as a primary source. Without doubt Propertius knew of this fact.

Direct imitation of the *Georgics* is shown by 'dique deaeque omnes, quibus est tutela per agros' (cf. *Georgics* I. 21 'dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arua tueri').

Thus, Propertius III. [IV.] xiii. (xii.) 25-42 may fairly be said to constitute a rehash of Theocritean and Virgilian pastoral motives.

give a thought to *Copa*, especially if *Copa* was written by Virgil. And does not that explain, or go some way to explain, the presence of the adjective 'uirgineos'? What does Propertius mean by the word? In conjunction with 'calathos' it might mean perhaps 'virgin,' i.e. unused, new? Or, 'of the kind girls carry'? That seems horrible and worse than the first. Or, not quite 'intactos,' but rather 'integros,' i.e. 'that from which nothing has been taken away,' i.e. in an extended sense, 'full'—the Virgilian 'plenis calamis' of *Eclogues* II.? More horrible still.

Copa's 'uirgineo ab amne' needs no special pleading. The adjective is simply the Theocritean (and Homeric) ἀκηρατός. 'Achelois' suggests it naturally enough.

Now, if Propertius did know of the *Copa*, I can understand his being attracted to 'uirgineos'—a reminiscence from *Copa* 15, metrically equivalent to 'uimineos' of *Copa* 16. He may actually have misremembered *Copa*, or he may have thought it a good point to give his reader a surprise. When we come to 'calathos' at the end of the line, we naturally turn back, and whether we are editors or not ask ourselves if Propertius did not mean to write 'uirgatos'; and if we are editors we are inclined to say that he ought to have written 'uimineos.'

Why should this fleeting memory of *Copa* come just here to Propertius? Perhaps only because of the similarity of *Copa* to *Eclogues* II. or (and) Theoc. XI.

But perhaps, too, because just here Propertius is thinking of a poem of his own in which he catalogued the poems of Virgil:

Prop. III. [IV.] xiii. [xii.] 25-28.

Felix agrestum quondam pacata iuuentus,
diuitiae quorum messis et arbor erat.
illis munus erat decussa Cydonia ramo
et dare puniceis plena canistra rubis.

Prop. II. [III.] xxxiv. c. 71-74.

Felix qui uiles pomis mercaris amores!
huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
felix intactum Corydon qui temptat
Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias!

Exactly the same sentiment in both—both engaged with *Eclogues* II.

And if Propertius uses *Copa* side by side with Virgil and at the same time turns his thoughts to his own catalogue of Virgilian poems, is not that the next thing to his including *Copa* amongst Virgilian poems?

And if that is the judgment of Propertius we need not blush to concur.

<i>Copa.</i>	Propertius.
	I. ii.:
5	1 Quid iuuat ornato procedere, uita, capillo
2	3 et tenues Coa ueste mouere sinus?
	II. xxxiii. [III. xxxi.]:
37	26 an nondum est talos mittere lassa manu?
34	27 a pereat quicumque. . . .
	II. xxxiv.b:
2	42 desine, et ad molles membra resolue choros.
	IV. i.:
26	21 Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis
	IV. ii.:
	43 caeruleus cucumis . . .
22	44 . . . et iunco brassica uincta leui
21	13 prima mihi uariat liuentibus uua racemis,
	14 et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet.
18	15 hic dulces cerasos, hic autumnalia pruna
21. 18	16 cernis et aestiuo mora rubere die.

<i>Copa.</i>	Propertius.
	IV. viii.:
3	19 turpis in arcana sonuit cum rixa taberna,
2	20 si sine me, famae non sine labe meae.
29	22 ausa per inpuros frena mouere locos.
2	37 uitrique aestiua supellex,
	39 crotalistria Phyllis
15. 16	III. [IV.] xiii. [xii.]:
	30 lilia uirgineos (uimineos) lucida per calathos.
	(MSS. give 'uirgineos,' which is surely right if Propertius follows <i>Copa</i> here.)

D. L. DREW.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE USE OF THE SINGULAR NOS BY HORACE.

THE object of this paper is to enquire how far we can trace in the works of Horace the use of the plural forms of the first person which have been pointed out by Professor R. S. Conway in his essay on *The Use of the Singular NOS in Cicero's Letters* (*Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. V., Part I., 1899), from which it appeared that the idiom throws valuable light upon the inner workings of Cicero's mind.

Dr. Conway recognizes twelve vague-plural uses—for example, where the plural refers to :

(1) *Humanity at large* ; or (2) *his political party* : *bellum nostri nullum administrant* (*Att.* 7. 20. 1) ; (3) *of the household and the property belonging to it* ; (4) *the Social plural*.

In Horace we shall find either identical or similar examples of many of these vague-plural uses.¹

I.

VAGUE-PLURALS IN HORACE.

Such are the cases where the plural refers to :

(1) *Humanity at large* :

Hæu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
Te deus ? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
Humanis ! (Satires 2. 8. 61.)

Cf.

Nil mortalibus arduum est :
Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia ; neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.
(Odes 1. 3. 37 sqq.)

Cf. also Odes 1. 4. 15 ; Odes 2. 3. 25 and 27 ; Epistles 2. 2. 55.

(2) *The Roman People* :

Quæ caret ora cruore nostro ? (Odes 2. 1. 36.)

Cf. Epistles 1. 16. 18 :

Iactamus iampridem omnis te Roma beatum.

Of this use there are many examples.

(3) *The Writer's Generation* :

Aetas parentum, peior auis, tulit
Nos nequiores,
(Odes 3. 6. 46.)

(4) *His Political Party* : I have noted no examples.

(5) *His Philosophic School* : Satires 1. 4. 142 and 143 :

Nam multo plures sumus, ac ueluti te
Iudæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

Cf. Epistles 1. 12. 12 ; Epistles 1. 6. 50 sqq.

¹ With regard to the counting of examples I have followed Dr. Conway. 'Phrases like *ego hoc facio* are each counted as only one example of *ego*, *nos tacemus* as only one example of *nos*, but *dico me hoc fecisse* or *meos curabo* as two of *ego*, and so on. This is necessary in view of the examples

of *ego* and *nos* side by side. But two co-ordinate verbs are counted as only one example if they are close together (e.g. *oro et obsecro*), but as two if they are separated by a pause in the sense or by an intervening phrase.'

(6) *The Local Plural* :‘*Hens tu*’

*Quidam ait, ‘ignoras te ? an ut ignotum dare nobis
Verba putas ?’*

(Satires 1. 3. 2.)

This *NOBIS* may, however, be a plural of disparagement (see below), as spoken by the *quidam* in the same line.

(7) *The Traveller's Plural* : Satires 1. 5. 5, 21, 23, 24, 25, 35, 37, 57, 70, 71, 79, 94.
E.g. line 5 :

*Hoc iter ignavi diuisimus, altius ac nos
Praecinctis unum : nimis est grauis Appia tardis.*

(8) *The Soldier's Plural* : I have noted no examples.(9) *The Plural of the Family* : Satires 2. 2. 130 : *nos expulit ille.*(10) *In Invitations* : I have noted no examples.(11) *Of the Household* : I have noted no examples.(12) *The Social Plural* : Satires 2. 8. 11, 27, 34, 57, 58, 91, 93, 94.E.g. line 27 : *nam cetera turba**Nos, inquam, cenamus.*(13) *Of Fellow Poets* : *De Arte Poetica*, ll. 11, 25, 285, 331, 347.E.g. line 25 : *Maxima pars uatum, pater et iuuenes patre digni,
Decipimur specie recti.*Cf. *Epistles* 2. 2. 94 and 97 ; 2. 1. 11, 219, 221, 223 and 224 sqq.

§ 3. But when all the genuine plurals have been put on one side, we have then to consider what examples there are of the singular use of *NOS*, none of which come under any of the above categories.

Dr. Conway has assigned the examples of the singular use of *NOS* in Cicero to the following categories :

(1) *Of Political Dignity* : e.g. *Att.* 3. 4. 1 :*Allata est NOBIS rogatio de perniciē mea.*(2) *Of Authorship* : e.g. *Att.* 1. 20. 6 :*Simul atque hoc NOSTRVM legerunt, retardantur.*(3) *The Plural of Proprietorship* : e.g. *Att.* 4. 1. 7 :*De domo NOSTRA.*(4) *The Plural in Financial Transactions* : *Att.* 5. 12. 3 :*NOSTRA autem negotia, quoniam Romae commoraris, amabo te, explica.*(5) *The Paternal Plural or Plural of Seniority* : e.g. *Att.* 4. 7. 1 :*De Quinto NOSTRO (the nephew).*(6) *The Plural of Disparagement or Remoteness.*

This implies either a comparatively remote connexion with the person spoken of, or, in the case of people whom the reader knows to be continually associated with the writer, it conveys a disparaging and often quite a contemptuous tone. *Att.* 1. 16. 9 :

NOSTRI isti commissatores coniurationis—‘Our noble pot-house conspirators.’(7) *Formal Uses*—(a) *At the beginning and end of letters* : *Att.* 1. 9. init. :

*Raro NOBIS abs te litterae afferuntur cum et multo tu facilius reperias, qui Romae
proficiscantur quam ego, . . . , etc.*

(b) *Formal plurals in phrases relating to letter-writing* : *Fam.* 7. 6. 2 (to Trebatius) :*Sed plura scribemus alias.*

(8) *The Plural of Patronage or Remoter Intimacy*: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 421:

Postremo tecum nil rei nobis, Demipho, est.

(Said in a lordly tone by the parasite to the man whom he has cheated of thirty minae.)

(9) *Humorous Applications of the Use*: E.g. Att. I. 14. 4:

Nosti iam sonitus NOSTROS. Cf. *Fam.* 2. 11. 1.

II.

THE VARIETIES OF THE SINGULAR USE IN HORACE.

§ 4. As we have found examples of vague-plural uses corresponding to the examples in Cicero's Letters, so also we find examples of the use of the singular NOS which may be assigned to the same categories as the examples in Cicero.

§ 5. All the examples which follow in each category are arranged chronologically according to the date of the publication of the works of Horace. In determining the dates to be assigned I have followed Wilkins (*Epistles of Horace*, 1907) and Wickham (*The Works of Horace*, 1896) in cases where there is any doubt.

As Wickham has pointed out, 'The *Ars Poetica* is the only one of Horace's poems in respect of which a serious doubt can be said to exist as to the period of his life to which it is to be assigned—one¹ school of critics placing it in the period of the First Book of *Epistles*, i.e. between 24 and 20 B.C.; another² making it the work of his last years, i.e. between 12 and 8 B.C.'

Many commentators group the Second Book of *Epistles* and the *Ars Poetica* together, and assign them to the last period of the poet's life, but without attempting to give any definite date. Mommsen (see Wickham's *Works of Horace*, Vol. II., General Introduction to the Literary Epistles), Wickham, and Wilkins (*The Epistles of Horace*, Introduction, published 1907) incline to the view that the Second Epistle of the Second Book was published before the First Epistle, about 19 B.C., and the First about 13 B.C., but they admit the uncertainty of these dates.

Table of Probable Dates of Publication (E. C. Wickham).

<i>Satires</i> , Book I. (38-33 B.C.)...	...	about 35 B.C.
" Book II. (before 29 B.C.)	}	" 30 B.C.
<i>Epodes</i> (before 29 B.C.)	...	" 30 B.C.
<i>Odes</i> , Books I.-III.	...	" 23 B.C.
<i>Epistles</i> , Book I.	...	" 20 OR 19 B.C.
" Book II. 2 (to Florus)	...	" 19 B.C.
<i>The Secular Hymn</i>	...	" 17 B.C.
<i>Odes</i> , Book IV.	...	" 17 B.C. to 13 B.C.
<i>Epistles</i> , Book II. 1 (to Augustus)	...	" 13 B.C.
<i>Ars Poetica</i> , very uncertain (1)	...	" 24 B.C. to 20 B.C.
" " " " (2)	...	" 12 B.C. to 8 B.C.

§ 6. (1) *The Singular NOS of Political Dignity*: I could find no examples.

§ 7. (2) *The Plural used by an Author denoting Himself*—

(a) *The use of the singular NOS for a dramatic purpose* (as put into the mouth of some character Horace is describing).

There is one example only—*Satires* I. 9. 7:

'*Noris NOS,*' inquit, '*docti sumus.*'

This is the plea urged by the Bore who, wishing to obtain from Horace an introduction to Maecenas, refuses to be shaken off.

¹ Stephanus, Lambinus, Bentley, Kirchner,
Ritter, Dillenburger, Orelli.

² Franke, Michaelis, Nettleship.

(b) *Horace's use of the singular NOS to denote himself:*

*Neque, si qui scribat, uti NOS,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.*
(Satires I. 4. 41.)

*Quid uetat et NOSMET Lucili scripta legentes
Quaerere . . .* (Satires I. 10. 56.)

*Doliturus, si placeant spe
Deterius NOSTRA.*
(Satires I. 10. 90.)

Ego occurs both before and after this line. The poet wishes to avoid all appearance of interested flattery—*ambitione relegata*, line 84—hence he writes as simply as possible, and perhaps for this reason uses *ego* rather than *nos*. Finally, he appeals to the judges with what seems a modest but confident assurance. I suggest that *NOSTRA* here expresses the two sentiments—the natural dignity of a poet combined with a suppression of any more directly personal feeling:

*Quid NOS, quibus te uita si superstite
Iucunda, si contra, grauis?
Vtrumne iussi PERSEQVEMVR otium . . .
FEREMVS: . . .
Forti SEQVEMVR pectore.
Roges, tuum laborem quid iuuem meo
Imbellis ac firmus parum?*
(Epode I, ll. 5, 7, 11, 14.)

Nos is used in the first fourteen lines where Horace is thinking of himself as a poet—a personage in the retinue of Maecenas—but in line 15 *ego* seems to introduce a more personal note when Horace is thinking of himself as a private friend of Maecenas:

*NOS, Agrippa, neque haec dicere, nec grauem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii,
* * *
CONAMVR, tenues grandia:
NOS conuiuia, NOS proelia uirginum
Sectis in iuuenes unguibus acrium
CANTAMVS, uacui, siue quid VRIMVR
Non praeter solitum leues.*
(Odes I. 6, ll. 5, 9, 17, 19.)

As in example (3), the combination of dignity and reserve natural to a poet seems to be expressed by the use of *NOS*:

*POSCIMVR. Si quid uacui sub umbra
LVSIMVS tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vinat et plures: age, dic Latinum
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate ciui;*
(Odes I. 32, ll. 1 and 2.)
*Albi, NOSTRORVM sermonum candide iudex,
(Epistles I. 4. 1.)
tamen aspice, si quid
Et NOS, quod cures proprium fecisse, LOQVAMVR.
(Epistles I. 17. 5)
Gaudes carminibus; carmina POSSVMVS
Donare, et pretium dicere muneri.
(Odes 4. 8. 11.)*

In the opening lines of the Ode *ego* is used, but here Horace seems in the plural *POSSVMVS* to regard himself from the standpoint of others as a poet—a personage :

*Non AGIMVR tumidis uelis Aquilone secundo.
Non tamen aduersis aetatum DVCIMVR austris,
Viribus, ingenio, specie, uirtute, loco, re,
Extremis primorum, extremis usque priores.*

(*Epistles* 2. 2. 201.)

Here the poet is contrasting himself with other poets. Cf. Juvenal 1. 14 sq.

HORACE. *Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
Scripta uel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa LOQVAMVR.*

(*Epistles* 2. 1. 30.)

LOQVAMVR may include Horace's readers.

Examples in all—21.

§ 8. (3) *Of a Proprietor* : Two examples :

*Dum ex paruo NOBIS tantundem haurire relinquo,
Cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria NOSTRIS ?*

(*Satires* 1. 1. 52 and 53.)

Cumeris NOSTRIS as contrasted with *granaria tua* gives perhaps a somewhat pompous effect, as though Horace wished to show the miser how well satisfied he was with his store, which, though small, was sufficient for his modest requirements.

§ 9. (4) *Of the Financier* : I could find no examples.

§ 10. (5) *Of Seniority* : One example :

*Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures,
Et patris, et NOSTRAS . . .*

(*De Arte Poetica*, line 388.)

Horace here gives advice to the elder of the two young sons of Piso. The youth was apparently contemplating some literary venture.

§ 11. (6) *Of Disparagement or Remoteness* : One example :

Vt tu fortunam, sic NOS te, Celse, FEREMVS.

(*Epistles* 1. 8. 17.)

Horace has adopted in the previous lines a curiously self-reproachful tone, and uses *ego*, describing his own follies to soften the warning which he conveys to Celsus. *Nos* in this line suggests the disapproval which either Horace or Horace and his friends felt.

§ 12. (7) *Formal Plurals* : One example :

(a) *At the beginning of letters, etc. :*

*Vrbis amatorem Fuscum saluere IVBEMVS
Ruris amatores . . .*

(*Epistles* 1. 10. 1.)

(b) *Formal plurals in phrases at the end or beginning of a letter :*

(i.) *Dramatic* : One example :

*Et NOSTRI memorem sepulchro
Scalpe querelam.* (*Odes* 3. 11. 51.)

(ii.) *Referring to Horace :*

*Sis licet felix, ubicunque manis,
Et memor NOSTRI, Galatea, uiuas.*
(*Odes* 3. 27. 14.)

Cf. Juvenal, *Satires* 3. 299 :

uale NOSTRI memor.

Cf. also Tibullus 1. 3. 93 :

*Hoc precor, hunc illum NOBIS Aurora nitentem
Luciferum roseis candida portet equis.*

HORACE. *Scribere te NOBIS, tibi NOS accredere par est.*

Examples in all—3.

(*Epistles* 1. 15. 25.)

§ 13. (8) *Of Patronage or Remoter Intimacy* : One example :

Vt ualet ? ut meminit NOSTRI ?

(*Epistles* 1. 3. 12.)

§ 14. (9) *Humorous Applications* :

Per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam

Inuidiae NOSTER,

(*Satires* 2. 6. 48.)

The reference is to Horace himself, and NOSTER seems to be used in humorous self-disparagement—‘our poor friend.’

*Vt proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata uolumina, Vini,
Si ualidus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet ;
Ne studio NOSTRI pecces, odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes opera uehemente minister.*

(*Epistles* 1. 13. 4.)

Horace used the singular *docui* in line 1 ; and again in line 6 we find *meae . . . chartae*. In line 4 we find what I take to be a humorous application of the plural of Authorship. The phrase *studio NOSTRI* might be rendered ‘in your zeal for poor Horace.’

*Quam paene furuae regna Proserpinae
Et iudicantem VIDIMVS Aeacum.*

(*Odes* 2. 13. 22.)

As in the previous example, we seem to have a humorous use of the plural of Authorship. Cf. *domini* (line 12) :

Nos humilem FERIAMVS agnam.

(*Odes* 2. 17. 32.)

Maecenas is to offer victims and a votive shrine, while Horace will slay a humble lamb. The *nos* might almost be rendered ‘your poet-farmer-friend.’ Horace seems to picture himself sacrificing a lamb and folk watching him.

Examples in all—4.

§ 15. The evidence so far given seems to show that Horace was quite familiar with the idiom, and was prepared to use it on occasion. In Latin generally we have seen that ‘the use of the singular *nos* is quite uncommon as compared with that of *ego*’ ; but this fact is especially striking in the works of Horace. We are therefore bound to consider the examples of passages where the poet uses *ego* in the same kind of context as that in which we find examples of the singular *nos*.

Take first the cases where Horace is speaking of himself as an author (*numbering 210 in all*).

We have found that some other idea is generally in his mind in every case where he uses *nos*—e.g. he uses it of himself as an author when he wishes to represent himself as a public character in whom folk generally are interested ; or as a poet contrasting himself with other poets ; or as a senior person talking to a junior. Where he uses the singular, we naturally infer that he had no wish to give prominence to any such ideas.

In what follows I have only quoted cases where, so far as I can judge, *nos* is what Cicero might have written between 68 and 50 B.C.

§ 16. *Of an Author—*

(a) *Dramatically attributed to others by Horace: Ars Poetica*, line 137: Three examples in all:

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.

Cf. lines 141 and 416.

(b) *Of Horace—Satires* 1. 1. 120 and 121; *Satires* 1. 4. 13; *Satires* 1. 4. 17:

*Di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
Finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis.*

Cf. line 22.

Satires 1. 4. 39. *Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,
Excerptam numero.*

1. 71. *Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.*

1. 73. *Nec recito cuiquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus.*

1. 78. *Vnde petitum*

*Hoc in me iacis? est auctor quis denique eorum,
Vixi cum quibus?*

1. 91. *Ego si risi, quod ineptus
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
Lividus et mordax uideor tibi?*

1. 101. *quod uitium procul afore chartis,
Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
Possum aliud uere, promitto. Liberius, si
Dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
Cum uenia dabis.*

1. 137. *Haec ego mecum
Compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,
Illudo chartis.*

1. 141. *Multa poetarum ueniet manus, auxilio quae
Sit mihi.*

Satires 1. 10. 1. *Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere uersus
Lucili.*

Cf. ll. 31, 32, 76, 78, 91, 92.

Examples in all in *Satires*, Book I.—30.

Satires, Book II.

Satires 2. 1. 1. *Sunt quibus in Satira uideor nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera, quidquid
Composui, pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die uersus deduci posse. Trebati,
Quid faciam, praescribe. 'Quiescas.' 'Ne faciam,' inquis,
'Omnino uersus.'*

Cf. l. 24; *Satires* 2. 1. 28, 34, 40, 41, 45, 60, 74, 75; *Satires* 2. 2. 2; 2. 3. 17; 2. 6. 17.

Examples in all in Book II.—18.

Epodes.

Epode 11. 1. *Paeti, nihil me, sicut antea, iuuat
Scribere uersiculos amore percussum graui:
Amore, qui me praeter omnes expetit.*

Cf. 14. 6.

Examples in all in the *Epodes*—3.

Odes, Book I.

Odes 1. 1. 29. *Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Dis miscent superis : me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leues cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo :*

Cf. *ll.* 35 and 36 ; *Odes* 1. 10. 5 ; 1. 12. 13, 21, 25, 34 and 35.
Examples in all in *Odes*, Book I.—10.

Odes, Book II.

Odes 2. 1. 21 and 39 ; 2. 12. 13 and 14 ; 2. 16. 37 :

*mihi parua rura, et
Spiritus Graiæ tenuem Camenæ
Parca non mendax dedit.*

Cf. *Odes* 2. 19. 2 and 9 ; *Odes* 2. 20. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17 and 19.
Examples in all in Book II.—16.

Odes, Book III.

Odes 3 1. 1. *Odi profanum uulgus et arceo :*
1. 4. *Virginibus puerisque canto.*

Cf. *Odes* 3. 4. 5, 6, 26 and 69 ; 3. 13. 14 ; 3. 14. 13, 14, 15 and 27 ; 3. 25. 7, 12 and 18 ;
3. 30. 1, 6, 8, 10 and 15.

Examples in all in Book III.—19.

Epistles, Book I.

Epistles 1. 1. 1. *Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
Spectatum satis, et donatum iam rude, quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo ?*

1. 13. 1. But contrast line 4. 1. 19. 9, 10, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 32, 33, 37, 40, 43, 46
and 47 ; 1. 20. 20, 23, 25, 26 and 27.

Examples in all—26.

Epistles 2. 2.

Epistles 2. 2. 25, 52, 54, 57, 63, 65, 79, 86, 91, 99, 102, 103 and 126.
Examples in all—16.

Odes, Book IV.

Odes 4. 2. 27. *ego, apīs Matinae
More modoque, . . .
1. 32. Carmina fingo.*

Cf. *ll.* 45 and 47 ; 4. 3. 15 and 16.

4. 3. 22. *Quod monstror digito prætereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae :*

Cf. 1. 24 ; 4. 6. 29 ; 4. 9. 4, 30, 31 and 32.

4. 15. 1. *Phoebus uolentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes, increpuit, lyra :
Ne parua Tyrrhenum per æquor
Vela darem.*

Examples in all in *Odes*, Book IV.—16.

Epistles 2. 1.

Epistles 2. 1. 69. *Non equidem insector delendaue carmina Liui
Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi paruo
Orbilium dictare : sed emendata uideri
Pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror.*

Cf. ll. 76, 80, 81, 87, 111, 112, 113, 208, 210, 211, 213, 250, 257, 258, 264, 266, 267, 268 and 269.

Examples in all in this *Epistle*—28.

With all these examples contrast the not infrequent use of *NOS* by Quintilian in describing his own experience—e.g. 1. 1. 21; 10. 5. 20; 10. 1. 37.

Ars Poetica.

- Line 42. *Ordinis haec uirtus erit et Venus, aut ego fallor,*
 l. 55. *Ego cur, acquirere pauca*
Si possum, inuideor,
 l. 87. *Cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque, poeta salutor?*
 l. 153. *Tu, quid ego et populus mecum desideret, audi,*
 l. 188. *Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.*
 l. 234. *Non ego honorata et dominantia nomina solum,*
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;
Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
 l. 240. *Ex noto fictum carmen sequar,*
 l. 244. . . . *me iudice,*
 l. 265. *Idcircone uager, scribamque licenter? Vt omnes*
Visuros peccata putem mea. . . .
. . . uitauit denique culpam,
Non laudem merui.
 l. 271. *Nimum patienter utrumque,*
Ne dicam stulte, mirati; si modo ego et uos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
 l. 304. *Ergo fungar uice cotis,*
 l. 306. *Nil scribens ipse, docebo;*
 l. 317. *Respicere exemplar uitae morumque iubebo*
Doctum imitatore,
 l. 357. *Sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille,*
Quem bis terue bonum cum visu miror; et idem
Indignor, quandoque bonus dormitet Homerus.
 l. 409. *Ego nec studium sine diuite uena,*
Nec rude quid possit uideo ingenium;
 l. 463. *Dicam, Siculique poetae*
Narrabo interitum.

Examples in all in *Ars Poetica*—28.

§ 17. *Of a Proprietor:*

(a) *Dramatic*—i.e. put into the mouth of some character: *Satires* 2. 2. 100;

2. 3. 231; *Epode* 5. 49; *Epistles* 1. 16. 35.

Epistles 1. 16. 35. 'Pone, meum est,' inquit.

Examples in all—4.

(b) *Referring to Horace himself:* *Satires* 1. 1. 46; 1. 5. 30; 2. 6. 60.

2. 6. 65. *O noctes cenaque deum! quibus ipse meique*
Ante larem proprium uescor, uernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus.

Epode 1. 25; *Odes* 1. 17. 4; 1. 20. 2.

Odes 1. 20. 10. *mea nec Falernae*
Temperant uites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

Odes 2. 7. 17 *Ergo obligatam redde Ioui dapem,
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea.*

Cf. 2. 13. 10; 2. 18. 4, 6 and 7; 3. 16. 27.

Odes 3. 16. 30. *segetis certa fides meae,*

3. 18. 2. *Per meos fines et aprica rura*

Lenis incedas,

Epistles 1. 14. 1. *Villice siluarum et mihi me reddentis agelli*

Epistles 1. 15. 17. *Rure meo possum quiduis perferre patique.*

Epistles 1. 16. 1; *Odes* 4. 12. 22 and 23; *Epistles* 2. 1. 220.

Examples in all—28.

§ 18. *Of a Financier :*

(a) *Dramatic*—e.g. *Satires* 1. 1. 66; 2. 3. 18, 19 and 20.

Epistles 2. 2. 12. *Res urguet me nulla ; meo sum pauper in aere ;*

Examples in all—9.

(b) *Referring to Horace himself :* I have noted no examples.

§ 19. *Of a Senior Person :* Four examples.

(a) *Dramatic :* *Satires* 2. 3. 172, 174 and 180.

Satires 2. 5. 59. *O Laertiade, quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non ;*

Diuinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.

(b) *Referring to Horace himself :* One example: *Epistles* 1. 18. 67.

§ 20. *Where someone else is disparaged :*

(a) *Dramatic :* *Satires* 1. 5. 57.

Satires 2. 3. 151. *Ni tua custodis, auidus iam haec auferet heres.*

'Men' uiuo ?'

Cf. ll. 262, 263 and 264; *Satires* 2. 5. 18 and 19; 2. 8. 67; *Epistles* 1. 7. 63;
1. 18. 17 and 18.

Examples in all—12.

(b) *Referring to Horace himself :*

Epode 4. 1. *Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,*

Tecum mihi discordia est.

Epode 6. 4; *Odes* 1. 27. 9 and 13; *Odes* 1. 38. 1, 7; *Odes* 3. 19. 21.

Examples in all—7.

§ 21. *At the End of a Letter (referring to Horace himself) :* One example:
Epistles 1. 10. 49.

§ 22. *Where a Tone of Patronage or Remoter Intimacy might have been expected :*

(a) *Dramatic :*

Satires 1. 3. 23. *Egomet mi ignosco.*

Satires 2. 3. 188. *Et aequam*

Rem imperito ; at, si cui uideor non iustus, inulto

Dicere quod sentit, permitto.

Satires 2. 4. 46 and 73; 2. 8. 51; *Odes* 3. 3. 22, 33, 36, 58, 64 and 66;
Epistles 1. 18. 28 and 30.

Examples in all—17.

III.

INFERENCES SUGGESTED BY THIS EVIDENCE.

§ 23. It will at once be clear from the evidence offered above that in the works of Horace the use of the singular NOS is much less frequent than in the writings of Cicero. This negative evidence may furnish us with a small but new measure of the difference between the character and taste of the two authors.

It appears that—

(1) Horace rarely or never uses the singular nos in a spirit of arrogance or superiority. Thus the Plural of Disparagement is very rare, so are Formal Plurals; the Plural of Authorship is rare, and the comparative frequency of *ego* increases in the later books (see the tables below).

When he speaks of his own work as a poet, he often, perhaps most often, uses the singular *ego*—e.g. *Odes* 4. 2. 27:

*Ego, apīs Matinae
More modoque,
Grata carpentis thyma p̄r laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa paruos
Carmina fingo.*

‘I humbly build my laborious verse’—it is in such modest terms that Horace loves to speak of his own achievements.

(2) The poet *always*, when narrating episodes in his own early life and education, and especially in speaking of his father, uses the singular *ego*, natural to sincere affection. Also he refers to his well-beloved Sabine farm *invariably* as *meus*.

(3) Horace, when addressing Maecenas, avoids the plural, as a rule, in speaking of himself. In the First Epode we find the plural used in the first fourteen lines where Horace is thinking of himself as a poet—a personage in the retinue of Maecenas; but in the line 15 *ego* introduces a more personal note. The poet is thinking then of himself as a private friend, anxious for Maecenas’ safety and eager to be with him.

Again, in the Seventeenth Ode of the Second Book Horace consoles Maecenas in his illness, and in strong and feeling language assures him of the sincerity of his attachment. Here he naturally uses *ego*. He then seeks to inspire his patron with brighter hopes, and reminds him of the occasions on which both Maecenas and Horace had been preserved from death. ‘In line 28 the use of the indicative *sustulerat*, though in the conditional clause the subjunctive is used, imparts an air of liveliness to the passage’ [Anthon], and Horace ends the Ode in humorous vein. He urges his friend to remember to pay the victims and votive shrine, while of himself he says: *Nos humilem FERIEMV̄S agnam*, ‘I, your poet-farmer-friend, will slay a humble lamb’—where he pictures folk watching him as he slays a humble victim.

(4) In invoking or referring to a deity Horace *invariably* uses *ego* (see *Odes* 4. 15. 1):

*Phoebus uolentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes, increpuit, lyra :*

Cf. *Odes* 3. 25. 14 sqq.:

*O Naiadum potens
Baccharumque ualentium
Procures manibus uertere fraxinos :
Nil paruum aut humili modo,
Nil mortale loquar.*

Contrast Tibullus 1. 10. 14:

*Nunc ad bella trahor et iam quis forsitan hostis
Haesura in NOSTRO tela gerit latere.*

Sed patrii seruate Lares:

1. 25. *At NOBIS aerata, Lares, depellite tela.*

(5) In writing to a friend or describing his feelings towards a friend the poet uses *ego*—e.g. in *Satires* 1. 5. 39 sqq. he describes the meeting with Vergil and two literary friends, and he speaks of them in the strongest terms of affection:

*animae, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque quis me sit deuinctior alter.
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.*

§ 24. On the other hand, Horace seems to use the singular *nos* occasionally—

(1) When he regards himself definitely from the standpoint of other people 'as a person of some note'—a public character or personage.' One example is quoted above where he regards himself as a personage in the retinue of Maecenas (*Epode* 1. 5 sqq.). Cf. also *Satires* 1. 4. 41 and *Odes* 4. 8. 11.

(2) To express modest but confident assurance—the natural dignity of a poet combined with the suppression of any more direct personal feeling. See *Odes* 1. 6. 5 sqq., where in the preceding lines *ego* is used, and there is definitely a desire to avoid all appearance of interested flattery—*ambitione relegata* (line 84).

(3) When he contrasts himself with other poets. See *Epistles* 2. 2. 201 sqq.

(4) As a senior giving advice to a junior (very rarely)—e.g. *Ars Poetica*, line 388.

(5) In some cases where there is a certain amount of formality implied—for example in *Epistles* 1. 10. 1.

(6) In a few cases where, regarding himself or some event connected with himself from the standpoint of others, he sees some humour in the situation—e.g. *Epistles* 1. 13. 2 sqq. and examples quoted in § 14.

Doubtful Plurals.

(1) *Satires* 1. 3. 21:

*Maenius absentem Nouium cum carperet 'Heus tu!'
Quidam ait, 'ignoras te? an ut ignotum dare NOBIS
Verba putas?' 'Egomet mi ignosco,' Maenius inquit.*

NOBIS may be a Plural of Disparagement referring to *quidam*. It may, however, equally well be a vague-plural use—e.g. a Local Plural: 'me and my friends here.'

(2) *Odes* 1. 11. 7:

*Dum loquimur, fugerit inuida
Aetas. Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.*

Loquimur may include Leuconoe, to whom the Ode is addressed.

It may, however, be used by Horace himself, since *loqui* does not necessarily imply a conversation—e.g. *Odes* 4. 15. 1:

*Phoebus uolentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes, increpuit, lyra:*

Cf. *Odes* 3. 25. 17 sqq.:

*Nil paruum aut humili modo
Nil mortale loquar.*

Cf. also *Epistles* 1. 17. 4 sqq.:

*tamen aspice, si quid
Et NOS, quod cures proprium fecisse, LOQVAMVR,*

where *NOS* refers to Horace himself.

TABLE OF CERTAIN USES IN HORACE'S WORKS.

The Singular Nos referring to Horace Himself.

		Author- ship.	Proprietor- ship.	Seniority.	Disparage- ment.	Formality.	Patronizing.	Humorous.	Total.
<i>Satires I.</i>	(35 B.C.)	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	5
<i>Satires II.</i> <i>Epodes</i>	(30 B.C.)	4	—	—	—	—	—	I	5
<i>Odes I.-III.</i>	(23 B.C.)	7	—	—	—	I	—	2	10
<i>Epistles I.</i>	(20-19 B.C.)	3	—	—	I	3	I	I	9
<i>Epistles II. 2</i>	(19 B.C.)	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
<i>Carmen Saeculare</i>	(17 B.C.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
<i>Odes IV.</i>	(17-13 B.C.)	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
<i>Epistles II. I</i>	(13 B.C.)	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
<i>Ars Poetica</i>	{ (24-20 B.C.) or (12-8 B.C.) }	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I
		21	2	I	I	4	I	4	34

TABLE OF CERTAIN USES IN HORACE'S WORKS.

*The Non-Use of Nos.**Ego* used with reference to Horace himself in passages where *nos* might have been in place to mark

		Authorship.	Proprietorship.	Seniority.	Disparagement.	Formality.	Total.
<i>Satires I.</i>	(35 B.C.)	30	3	—	—	—	33
<i>Satires II.</i> <i>Epodes</i>	(30 B.C.)	{ 18 3 }	{ 4 1 }	{ — — }	{ — 2 }	{ — — }	{ 22 6 }
<i>Odes I.-III.</i>	(23 B.C.)	45	12	—	5	—	62
<i>Epistles I.</i>	(20-19 B.C.)	26	4	I	—	I	32
<i>Epistles II. 2</i>	(19 B.C.)	16	—	—	—	—	16
<i>Carmen Saeculare</i>	(17 B.C.)	—	—	—	—	—	0
<i>Odes IV.</i>	(17-13 B.C.)	16	2	—	—	—	18
<i>Epistles II. I</i>	(13 B.C.)	28	2	—	—	—	30
<i>Ars Poetica</i>	{ (24-20 B.C.) or (12-8 B.C.) }	28	—	—	—	—	28
		210	28	I	7	I	247

ELSIE HANCOCK.

CARDIFF.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Academy at Rome. Papers and Monographs. III. 1924.

Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic: An Attempt to date them from their Materials*. With plans and illustrations. Professor Frank is dissatisfied with existing criteria of date, and attempts to base his chronology chiefly on the kinds of stone (cappellaccio, Monte Verde tufa, peperino, sperone, the tufas of Fidenae and the Grotta Oscura, travertine) used in existing remains. He discusses in successive chapters the western end of the Forum (the Tullianum is of the third century), the central part of the Forum (the stele under the Lapis Niger is of the sixth century), the eastern end of the Forum (the Regia and adjacent buildings show no signs of the *incendium Gallicum*), the Palatine (the tradition of a sixth-century wall is correct; the views of Pinza and Richmond concerning the temple of Apollo are to be accepted), the 'Servian' wall (fourth century, with fragments dating from the sixth, certainly not fifth; traces of repairs made to meet the expected attacks of Hannibal, Marius, and Caesar can be clearly seen), the lower Campus Martius (several temples have been wrongly identified; the text of Livy XL. 51 is perfectly sound), and finally bridges, arches, and monuments. The podium of Iuppiter Capitolinus and some other monuments are left unhandled until excavations now in progress or recently finished are fully published.

Memoirs. IV. 1924.

A series of essays on archaeological points, fully illustrated: (1) Emily L. Wadsworth, *Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second Centuries still Extant in Rome*. Description, with interpretations and account of processes used; includes the stuccoes of the Porta Maggiore basilica. (2) James H. Chillman Jr., *The Casino of the Semi-circular Colonnades at Hadrian's Villa*. Description, restoration, and conjectures as to the purpose of the so-called *aedicula*. (3) Gorham P. Stevens, *Roman Entasis*. Works out the mathematical curves used in Roman columns, with illustrations taken from extant examples, and full calculation of their approximation to the theoretically determined forms. (4) James K. Smith, *A Restoration of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia*. (5) Alice Walton, *The Date of the Arch of Constantine*. Criticism of Frothingham's view (*Am. Journ. Arch.*, 1912-1915) that it was originally Flavian, and redecorated in the third century before being used for Constantine.

Hermes. LIX. 3. 1924.

U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Lesefrüchte*. Miscellaneous notes on Greek authors, continued from Vol. LVIII. P. Gohlke, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften des Aristoteles*. P. Stengel, *Zu den griechischen Sakralaltertümern*. (1) On Aristoph. *Pax* 955 sqq. (2) On τέμνειν and ἐντέμνειν. K. Barwick, *Zur Geschichte und Rekonstruktion des Charisius-Textes*. An exposition of the principles of the new Teubner edition on which B. is engaged. MISCELLANEOUS: R. Reitzenstein, *Zu Cicero De Republica*. A reply to R. Heinze (*Hermes* LIX. 1). The 'Tendenz' is monarchical and not towards oligarchy. E. Fraenkel, *Fragmente der neuen Komödie*.

A reconstruction of some fragmentary ostraka published by J. G. Milne in *J.H.S.* XXVIII., 1908, p. 121, and XLIII., 1923, p. 40.

LIX. 4. 1924.

R. Philippson, *Democrits Sittensprüche*. A criticism of Laue's dissertation (1921). P. claims for Democritus much of the material which critics have assigned to Democrates. K. Barwick, *Zur Geschichte des Charisius-Textes*. Continued from LIX. 322. F. Altheim, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des homerischen Apollonhymnus*. The hymn is a conglomerate. The Delian portion dates from the seventh century, the Pythian from shortly after 590. W. Schur, *Fremder Adel im römischen Staat der Samniterkriege*. Following Münzer (1920), S. illustrates the importance for Rome of immigrant aristocratic families—e.g. Marcii and Claudii. MISZELLEN: W. Kroll on the version of the birth of Alexander in Pseudo-Kallisthenes; Honigman on *C.I.G.* 4730 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 991, line 11, would read the missing name as Aka, a name found in the house of Kommagene.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. LIII.-LIV. 4. 1924.

H. Peters, *Die Einheit der Odyssee*. An elaborate analysis of the chronology and structure of the *Odyssey*, emphasizing the close parallelism between the first and second halves (V. 185 marking the division). Combined with this is a scheme of chiasmic correspondence (e.g. $\alpha\beta = \pi - \omega$). A. Körte, *Die harpalische Prozess*. A careful examination of the antecedents and circumstances of this trial, laying especial stress on the exact chronology. R. Reitzenstein, *Eine neue Auffassung der horazischen Ode*. Attacks Heinze's article on the same subject in *N. Jahrb.*, 1923, and disputes his view that Horace's powers of self-expression were disastrously cramped by a rigidly conventional form inherited from Alcaeus. A. Götze, *Die Ausnahme bestätigt die Regel*. The phrase *exceptio confirmat regulam* first occurs in a gloss on Justinian by an Italian jurist of the late Middle Ages, meaning 'the necessity of establishing an exception proves that elsewhere the rule holds.'

Revue de Philologie. XLVII. 3. 1923.

Contains summaries for 1921-1922.

XLVIII. 1. 1924.

T. Walek, *Nouveaux Archontes athéniens du III^e Siècle*. A discussion of de Sanctis' treatment of the Chiasos inscription published by Keramopoullos in 1923. W. has also an article on the naval operations during the Lamian War. J. Marouzeau, *Mots longs et Mots courts*. Mainly a discussion of the effect of monosyllables at the end of a line. A. Meillet, *Le Sens de γενήσθαι*. An examination of the true force of the future in Plato, *Parmenides* 141. L. Laurand illustrates *de Divinatione* I. 7. 14 from modern manuals of meteorology. L. Bayard, *Les Clausules chez Saint Cyprien et le Cursus rythmique*. L. Havet, *Les Passages parallèles dans l'Ilias Latina*.

Reviews of W. Thomson, *The Rhythm of Speech*, and of A. Stanley Pease, *De Divinatione* II.

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. XIII. 1-2. 1923.

P. Fischer continues his articles on the position of the verb in Greek sentences, with special reference to materials collected from proverbs, chronicles, and inscriptions. A. Nehring maintains an Asiatic origin for *κοδύμαλον*, *κνδώνια*, and *cotonea*; this tallies with the statements of the botanists, who tell us that the home of the quince is in Asia Minor, the Caspian Provinces, and the Caucasus. F. Stürmer advocates an extended use of etymological explanations in the teaching of Greek to school

pupils. O. Immisch on the etymology of *crimen*. Drexler contributes remarks on *Accent in Plautus*. Th. Grienberger writes on the Anzi stone and the Osimo statuette. H. Zimmermann discusses 'the original gender of *dies*'; and P. Kretschmer *Dynaus, Diespiter* and their kin. There are also articles on the position of the verb in Apuleius (O. Möbitz), and Etruscan etymologies by E. Vetter.

XIII. 3-4. 1924.

Half this number is devoted to a very useful *catalogue raisonné* of books and articles in Greek and Latin linguistics published in 1921. Besides several minor articles, there is a lecture by W. Havers on *Syntactic Peculiarities of Greek and Latin Neuters*, including the Accusative Absolute in Latin. Fischer has the final instalment of his essay on the position of the verb in Greek, with special reference to private letters and Homer, and a general summing-up of his results. H. Zimmermann discusses fluctuations of gender in early Latin.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXIX. 3-5. 1921.

This number includes seven short papers (posthumous) by Brugmann: 1. Origin of Personal Terminations of I.-Eu. Verb. 2. Gr. σῖ as a prefix in noun compounds to 'strengthen the meaning' (e.g. σίκυς: κνέω, κῦμα, etc., Lat. *cumulus*). 3. δικάειν (aorist of βάλλειν); B. rejects Fick's etymology (: Lat. *iacio*) and approves Sonne's (K.Z. 15, 82), i.e. *deikē-* (δείκνυμι) 'eine Richtung Weisen.' 4. Boeotian πιτεύω. To be connected with πίων, πιδάινω, πῖμελή, Lat. *pinguis*; tr. 'cultivate, foster, tend.' 5. O.L. *humus* (g. sg.) = Gr. χθονός. *humus* originally an adverbial loc.-gen. (**hom-os*). 6. Lat. *seuērus* from *seguērus* (-*guēros*: Lat. *grātus*, Osc. *brāteis*, Skt. *gūrta-h*). 7. Analogical Innovations in I.-Eu. Verbal Terminations. F. Muller, on Lat. *barba*, leading up to a discussion of the treatment of I.-Eu. voiced aspirates in Latin and the Italic dialects. Thurneysen: (1) ἐσθίω, ἔσθω. 'εσθι' was 'baby language,' 'eat!' conjugated (a) -ίω, (b) -ω. (2) On Gr. τῆ, θῆ (Att. ττ; Ion. σσ); suggests τῆ, θῆ became τσ to which ῆ was added (by analogy) in 1st sg. pres., fem. sg. in -χα, comparatives in -χων. (3) Gr. ἡματος—stem influenced by that of νύξ. (4) On Skt. perfects in -άν. (5) On Skt. datives in -āya. (6) Lat. *paullisper*: for **paullumper* like *paucis* 'briefly.' (7) Lat. *hic, iste*—originally deictic adverbs. (8) Lat. *disco* reduplicated, not for **dī-dk-skō*, but for **dī-dkō*, which became **dicco* and was then wrongly given the inceptive -sc-. Lat. *mitto*: conflation between **meito* (O.L. *mitat*) and **mitito*. (9) On Lat. fifth declension. A. Debrunner, *Homeric* (I. βαῖνον, II. I. 437, etc.). Kieckers, *On the 'elliptical' dual* (e.g. Pind. ἀμφοῖν Πυθέα τε)—parallels from Melanesian and Polynesian. W. Preusler, note on Hillebrandt's *Der freiwillige Feuertod in India*. Manu Leumann, Avest. *srifa-*: for **sifra-* from *šiprā*. Id., (i.) On Latin *amantissimus* passive: *amans* (1) 'loving' and therefore (2) 'loved.' (ii.) Lat. *ossua*: cf. *genua, artua* (so Bréal) against Sommer. (iii.) On Lat. *ii* from *eei*. Walde, Umb. *purditom* for **pur-douitom* regularly (*du* becoming *d*) while impv. *purdovitu* was preserved on analogy of **purdovīt* (indic.) and fut. *purtuvies* by its accent. G. Pokorny, *On the origin of the Old Irish article*. Wackernagel, *On Old Irish fitir*. Id. *On Friedrich*, Idg. Forsch. 39, p. 93 (Arist. *Ach.* 100—the 'Persian' line). Schroeder, *On West-Germanic 2nd pers. sg. pf.* G. Ipsen, Lat. *cuprum*, Gr. κύπρος.

XL. 1-5 and Anzeiger. 1922.

N. van Wijk discusses laws of accentuation and its changes in Balto-Slavonic. H. Reichelt publishes a long enquiry on the labiovelars. E. Fränkel, *Miscellaneous notes* (on Greek dial. insec.; on Latin *fustis*). A. Nehring, *Die Seele als Wasserblase* (an examination of πέμφιξ 'πνοή'). A. Debrunner, *Homeric* ctd. (II. κτερίζειν and κτερεῖζειν, III. ἄξοντο). Hofmann returns to *amantissimus*. M. Leumann criticises Eisinger's dissertation 'Wortbildung mit dem Suffix -aneo-'. G. Neckel, *On the*

accentuation of trisyllabic words in Teutonic languages. v. Grienberger maintains that *Karwéndal* and *Karawánken* (place-names in Carnic Alps) are Keltic, not Illyrian. M. Vasner, *On the inflexion of Old Church Slavonic* *kyjъ* 'qui.' G. Iljinskij, *Old Church Slavonic* *ovošť* 'fruit' from *aęeg- (Gr. ἀέξω). v. d. Osten-Sacken, *On Lithuanian verb forms* (long-vowel preterite, inf., pres.). F. Krček, *Lithuanian* *tafokus*. Kieckers, *The Imperative in modern German used with indicative meaning* (cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 290). R. Back seeks to prove a connexion between *ġen- 'bear' and *ġenu 'knee.' H. Möller seeks to disprove from analogies in Nordic tongues the law of the first-syllable accent in Old Latin and Italic. H. Güntert on I.-Eu. negatives. Kieckers collects examples of Oratio Recta as Object from non I.-Eu. languages. v. d. Osten-Sacken contributes to study of initial and final vowel sounds in Lithuanian. N. van Wijk, *Compound present stems (with accented preposition) in Serbo-Croat* (written in 1916).

XLI. 1-4 and Anzeiger. 1923.

F. Karg collects and discusses instances of forms of relative in 'Heliandhandschrift C.' Streitberg notes instances of transposition and the like in children's language (e.g. *leforsen* for *vorlesen*). J. Weisweiler discusses at length the development of meaning in Germanic words expressing moral concepts. A. Götze makes a valuable contribution (a Heidelberg dissertation) to the determination of the relative chronology of established phonetic laws in Latin and the Italic dialects. W. Porzig, *On the etymology and earliest meaning of* *δαίμων* ('the mutilator of corpses'). G. Ipsen, *I.-Eu. borrowings from Sumer-Akkadian sources* (**orūd-*, **rouduho-* 'copper,' **ġuōu-* 'cow,' **peleku-s* 'axe,' **astēr* 'star'). Kieckers on Thurneysen's explanation of *ἡμαρος* (*Idg. Forsch.* 39, 192) and Erhlich's explanation of *ἄλφια* (*K.Z.* 38, 55). J. Hertel discusses *brāhman* (*bṛhas pātiḥ*) from (1) mythological, (2) philosophical, (3) religious and historical standpoints, amplifying the dictionary articles. W. Porzig contributes a long study of hypotaxis in the *Rigveda*. J. Weisweiler continues the article on Germanic expressions of moral terms. J. Friedrich, *Hittite Etymologies* (counted I.-Eu.): *mek-* 'ask, demand' (*ἐκων*: Ved. *vaśmi*), *aššuš* 'good' (*ἐός*), *ġenu* 'knee,' 'pudenda,' *arraš* 'buttocks' (*ὄππος*), *išša-* 'mouth.' J. Brüch, *Latin* *larix*: an Alpine word, *l-* for *d-* by association with *lacruma* ('resin'). L. Wolft supplements his 'Studien über dreikonsonanz in den germ. sprachen' (*Germ. Stud.*, 11, 1921). E. Fränkel, *On exceptional reductions of sounds in Balto-Slavonic* in particles or words and phrases serving as such.

XLII. 1 and 2. 1924.

F. Muller discusses the article in I.-Eu., and traces the history and development of the demonstrative pronouns in Italic and the rise of the article (definite and indefinite) in Romance. M. Leumann, *On verbal forms in Italic in -f- and -b-*. Establishes Walde's view that the *bh-* future is older than the *f-* imperfect, and holds that (1) Ital. **esām* was formed on the analogy of **bhuuām* which (2) was lost in Italic, *fuam* being a new formation (in Lat.); (3) Italo-Keltic formed a future in *-bh-* in the *ā*, *ē*, and *ī* verbs. (4) Italic employed the I.-Eu. 'preterites' as perfects, and (5) then formed new '(durative) preterites,' i.e. imperfects; (6) but in third and (in part) fourth conj., which had no *-f-* (*-b-*) future, *-ē-* (*-iē-*) served as a suffix for the formation of this impf.; (7) In Osco-Umbrian the fut. pf. is formed from the verbal stem *fu-*. J. B. Hoffmann makes a valuable contribution to Latin historical syntax—constructions arising from apposition or parataxis. Id., consonants inserted between vowels (e.g. *C.I.L.* 3. 2063 *Quirenarice* for *Cyrenaicae*) are 'lapsus linguae,' not 'calami.' A long article by Sommer on Venetic Inscriptions: (1) The Venetic alphabet to be derived from Etruscan; (2) Venetic *z*, *φ*, *χ* used to denote *spirants*; (3) *||* not everywhere *h* (as Pauli), but sometimes *i* (e.g. dat. sg. termination; so

too in the name of the goddess, not *Rehtia* but *Re'itia*, cf. *veiti-* at Magrè); (4) translates and comments on a few of the longer inscriptions; (5) Venetic *exo* 'I,' *mexo* 'me': Goth. *ih*, *mik*; (6) relations of Venetic (Illyrian) to Italo-Keltic on one hand, to Germanic on other. Bartholomae continues his 'Arica' (XIX. from Vol. 38, 28)—the Indo-Iranian numerals for 20, 30, 40. Thurneysen on the elucidation of the (Keltic) Vienna Glossary (Endlicher's MS.); on Old Irish *airech*: Avest. *pairikā*; O. Ir. *gorn*: Lat. *furnus*; Bret. *kals* from **coasclare*: *ascla*, *ass(u)la*? H. Amman continues his researches into Homeric word-order (position of verb). M. Vasmer: (1) Old Church Slavonic *вѣра* 'yesterday'; (2) pres. ptc. act. in Balto-Slavonic. G. Gerullis discusses the source of Slavonic words borrowed into old Prussian and Lithuanian. St. Mladenov on modern Persian *lang* 'lame.' H. Sköld sees in Romanian *mare* 'large' a Keltic borrowing (Gall. *-marus*, W. *mawr*). v. d. Osten-Sacken, *Etymologies* (Old Church Slavonic *гнѣсъ*, *съ-grѣza*, **лѣстъ*); also on dental aspirates in Teutonic.

Société de Linguistique de Paris. Bulletin. XXIII. 1922.

Ch. Bally, *Copule zéro et Faits connexes*. A. Sommerfeld, *De la Conservation dissimilatrice et différenciatrice des Phonèmes*; *Le Génitif adnominal indo-européen*. A. Ernout, *Cruor, cruentus*. J. Marouzeau, *Un Trait du Parler rustique: l'Atténuation*. E. Benveniste, *Les Futurs et Subjonctifs sigmatiques du Latin archaïque* (pp. 32-63). A. Meillet, *Remarques sur les Désinences verbales de l'indo-européen*; *De quelques y initiaux devant u- en Indo-européen*; *De quelques Gémérations expressives en Italique*; *Latin ESSE*; *Latin PROCITUM*; *À propos de Gr. στρατηγός*; *Sur sl. 'korenī' et 'krŭma'*; *Du Nominatif, Accusatif masculin en Slave commun*; *Sur la Racine *MED*; *De quelques Fautes*. Ch. Bally, *La Pensée et la Langue*. A. Juret, *Essai d'Explication de la Transformation des Voyelles latines accentuées e, o, a en Roman ie, uo, é*. V. Magnien, *Emploi des Démonstratifs chez Homère*.

XXIV. 1923-24.

M. Grammont, *Notes de Phonétique générale: VIII. L'Assimilation*. A. Meillet, *À propos de Hom. (F)έ(F)ικτο*; *Sur Gr. οἶχωκα*. E. Benveniste, *Latin VESPILLO*. A. Sommerfeld, *Note sur les Changements phonétiques*. A. Meillet, *Deux Remarques étymologiques*: (1) Lat. *MORTA*; (2) Gr. *ἀμνός* et Irl. *UAN*. L. Renou, *Védique VĀVRDHÉ, VĀVRDHUH*. A. Meillet, *Sur les Désinences en -r*. M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *Des Rapports entre la Décadence de la Quantité en Latin et les Phénomènes d'Apophonie et de Syncope*. A. Ernout, *Lat. OINVORSEI*.

Mémoires. XXIII. fasc. I. 1923.

A. Meillet, *Le Féminin du Comparatif primaire* (the use of the same form as masculine and feminine in Greek and Italo-Celtic [*ἡδίων, suānior*] represents an older state of affairs than is seen in Indo-Iranian and Slavonic; this form was originally a substantive, not an adjective). A. Meillet, *Grec διώκω*.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. LII. 1-2. 1924.

Franz Specht, *Zu den Substantiven auf -οσύνη*. This formation was avoided when the preceding vowel was short. W. Sch[ulze], *Zur Blattfüllung*. Examples of the Latin variations corresponding to Gr. *πείθω, πέποιθα, πιθεῖν* in Sid. Apoll. c. VII., 419. Gr. *λάπτειν*: Balt. *lakti*, Sl. *lokati*. The final vowel in *duc(e)*, *dic(e)* dropped as in *huc* < *huce* cf. *hucine*. Hannes Sköld, *Die idg. Labiovelare*. A new definition. W. Sch[ulze], *Gr. ὑκερός und Pali suṇisā*. *ὑκερός* < *ἐκέρως* as *suṇisā* < *siṇusā*.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1925.

THE CHARACTER OF ZEUS IN AESCHYLUS' *PROMETHEUS BOUND*.

'A FOOLISH consistency is the hobgoblin' not only 'of little minds,' but of some classically trained minds as well. And it is surprising to see how this has caused certain unevennesses in ancient authors to be trued up. Aristophanes, for example, we are told by a late venerable scholar, never permits a change of meter in a single speech directed to the same person; and to get rid of the two deviations from this rule, the framer of it cut down the seemingly good trochaic tetrameters in the *Peace* (299 sq.) to iambic trimeters, and then put line 555 before line 553 and took the three lines 555, 553, 554 from Trygaeus and assigned them to the coryphaeus. It is conceivable that if we possessed the thirty-three lost comedies of Aristophanes the editor might have had more and harder surgery on his hands.¹

Is not this ruthless treatment of Aristophanes matched by the recurrent attempts to equate the Zeus of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* with the Zeus of the *Agamemnon*, or at least to show that in some occult way there is an underlying beneficence in the Zeus of the *Prometheus*?

It seems to me worth while, at the risk of some repetition,² to indicate the

¹ One has only to glance at Aristophanes' free treatment of such a staple element as the parabasis—his repetition, excision of parts, variation of meter—to realize that he was not working with hobbles.

² Welcker, *Die aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus* (Darmstadt, 1824), in his chapter on the character of Zeus, quotes (pp. 92-94) with disapproval from the letter of a 'friend' who believes that the *Prometheus Bound* represents only a phase of the struggle among the gods, and that in the sequel the tyranny disappeared; Zeus concluded that it would be better to rule over ennobled man than over the brute beast; he came out of the struggle with a higher wisdom; a new order ensued, in which stupidity and oppression gave way to free spiritual development.

Miss Janet Case, in her able article in the *Classical Review* for 1904, pp. 99 sq., *On Prometheus Desmotes*, Lines 980-1, writes: 'I would suggest that the solution of the difficulty may rather be looked for in the theory first published by Dissen [in Welcker's *Trilogie Prometheus*, l.c.], and adopted by Caesar, which I venture to restate

and support; that in the *Prom. D.* Aeschylus deliberately presented an undeveloped Zeus, who presumably in the *Prom. Luom.* attained to the higher level of the Zeus of the *Oresteia*.' She cites the conflict between Apollo and the Erinyes with the reconciliation in the *Eumenides*, and stresses particularly lines 980 sq.: ὦμοι.—τόδε Zeus τούτος οὐκ ἐπιστᾶται.—ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος. These lines, 'taken in conjunction with Prometheus' words 926-7, . . . seem to indicate that Zeus, no less than Prometheus, both could and would learn wisdom by suffering.'

The late Professor Butcher stated in his *Harvard Lectures* that he had for years taught his classes that there was a change in Zeus's nature in the trilogy.

In a late volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (No. XXXI.), J. A. K. Thomson (*The Religious Background of the Prometheus Vincitus*), without going into details, states (p. 34) the view held in the present paper: ' . . . the Zeus of the *Solutus* is not the Zeus of the *Vinctus*. Neither is the Prometheus of the later play the Prometheus of the earlier. The interval of 30,000

reasons why we have a right to regard the Zeus of the *Prometheus* as quite different from the Zeus of any other extant play of Aeschylus.

The first is the actual tenor of the play itself, as it appears to an unsophisticated reader, say a freshman in college, or anyone not prepossessed by ideas about Aeschylean consistency. To him, Prometheus is the stalwart, independent and fearless rebel against an arrogant despot, the victim of an ungrateful recipient of favours, the patient helper of the human race in all manner of alleviation and instruction; Zeus is the malignant oppressor. One could no more teach him that Zeus is beneficent than convince him that Iago is the friend of Othello, or that what the Macbeths did to Duncan was only for his good, or that Clytaemnestra's design is 'in the long run' beneficial to Agamemnon or Argos. And what reason is there to suppose that the unwarned spectator at the initial performance of the *Prometheus* got from the play any other impression than this?

Not only is Zeus patently despotic, but so is his footman Hermes. If, then, the manifest nature of Zeus is to be explained away, the same process must be applied to that of his lackey. Like master, like man. So the other member of Zeus's entourage, Κράτος, is νήλης . . . καὶ θράσους πλέως (l. 42).

Again, a fact which is likewise on the surface and of course was prime in the consciousness of the audience for which the play was composed, is that this play is only one 'act' out of three, and is *not the last*. There is at least one later act in the trilogy. One asks the question, must the character of Zeus be the same in the first chapter as in the last? We see a change in Pickwick as the book progresses, and Dickens defends it; Aeschylus may conceivably have done something similar—a theory (not new) to which I shall revert presently. At any rate we have only one act of the greater play (the trilogy), with some scanty fragments of the act following. The mistake made is that of looking only at the present 'act' instead of the whole play.

The fourth significant point is the insistence of the poet on the fact that Zeus is just at the beginning of his reign and *is therefore harsh*. The 'key-note' is sounded in the first scene, Hephaestus saying pointedly (l. 35): ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ. We have a right to make this prominent, for, strange as it may seem to those who judge Zeus here by Zeus elsewhere, Aeschylus actually harps on this theme of Zeus's newness. Zeus is an upstart. We get the offensive νέος in some form or other no fewer than nine times in lines scattered throughout the play,¹ now in the mouth of Prome-

years has profoundly altered the character of both.' Following this, however, he appears to lapse into the notion that Zeus was from the beginning, in Aeschylus' mind, a champion of law and order as against the ἀναρχία of the Titans. 'Zeus, on the other hand, represented the Reign of Law—θεὸς δὲ ὁ θεῶν Ζεὺς ἐν νόμοις βασιλεύων (Plato, *Crit. ad fin.*). Not only Plato but Aeschylus speaks like this. . . . the design of Zeus may honestly be regarded as something higher and in the long run more beneficial to

man himself than the hasty generosity of Prometheus.' How Zeus's plan of annihilation (cf. lines 234 sq.: διαπύσας γένος τὸ πᾶν) could be more beneficial than Prometheus' generosity is not explained. But the point that I would insist on particularly is that, while the *ultimate* character of Zeus was doubtless righteous, so far as *Prometheus Bound* is concerned we must abide by the judgment of the chorus (line 150): Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει.

¹ Beside the words of Hephaestus in line 35,

theus, now in that of the Chorus (of all parties the one trustworthy, if any are, who not only call Zeus and his set νέοι, but add: νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει),¹ now on the lips of the neutral Oceanus or Hephaestus, half the instances being put in the mouths of the Chorus or of characters not hostile to Zeus. In this act of the trilogy, then, Zeus is new to rule, and inexperienced; and this, as Hephaestus says (l. 35), invariably produces harshness. Even Oceanus, the friend of both sides, calls Zeus harsh (l. 326): τραχὺς μόναρχος οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ.²

The next point, also fairly obvious, is that the poet in three (or four?) different places stated to his audience that an immense interval in time occurs between the *Prometheus Bound* and the following act in the trilogy, the *Prometheus Unbound*. In lines 94 sq. he has the farseeing Titan prophesy the indefinitely long μυριετῇ χρόνον; and again (774) the interval is to be thirteen generations, not of human but of divine life; and once more the audience is reminded of this long waiting period in 1020 sq.³ Quite strong enough intimation, as good as a printed announcement, that between this act and the next the universe passes through a long epoch, with Prometheus still in bonds and Zeus presumably organizing his new government in heaven. But it looks as if Aeschylus had given in the trilogy at least one more direct statement to this effect, for the scholiast on the first passage cited explains the indefinite μυριετῇ by saying, ἐν γὰρ τῷ Πυρφόρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδας φησὶ δεδέσθαι αὐτόν. Perhaps, as has been suggested, Πυρφόρῳ should be Λυομένῳ, or (what is easier palaeographically) δεδέσθαι should be δεδήσεσθαι,⁴ or perhaps one would not care to venture much on so uncertain a reading; but we can disregard the scholium entirely, if we wish, and still have three perfectly acceptable, well spaced and

cited by Miss Case, *l.c.* (and the vague reference in lines 403-406), we have the following explicit instances:

- (a) 96 (*Prometheus*): ὁ νέος ταγὸς μακάρων.
- (b) 149 sq. (*Chorus*): νέοι γὰρ οἰακονόμοι κρατοῦσ' Ὀλύμπου.
- (c) 311 sq. (*Oceanus*): μεθάρμοσαι τρόπους νέους· νέος γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἐν θεοῖς.
- (d) 391 (*Oceanus*): τῷ νέον θακοῦντι παγκρατεῖς ἔδρας.
- (e) 439 (*Prometheus*): θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις.
- (f) 942 (*Prometheus*): τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου.
- (g) 955 (*Prometheus*): νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε.
- (h) 960 (*Prometheus*): τοὺς νέους θεούς.

¹ Line 150. Note the δὴ, 'of course,' 'as everyone can see.' Miss Case well says, referring to lines 50, 150, 186, 326: '... he is described in terms that suggest an irresponsible despot of the type of the Persian King.' Note especially line 50: ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὗτος ἐστὶ πλὴν Διὸς with Eur. *Hel.* 275: τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλὴν ἐνός; and Xen. *Anab.* I. ix. 29: Κύρου δούλου οὗτος; and II. v. 38: Κύρου . . . τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου; and line 326: τραχὺς μόναρχος οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ. One might add the frequent use of the words τύραννος and τυραννίς.

² It is not impertinent to the argument to mention here one of those details which go to fill out the picture of Zeus throughout the play (details given with so generous, nay lavish, a hand that rather than read a classified enumeration of them we might prefer to read the play), a detail which might well convince the Athenian audience that Zeus at the beginning of his administration was autocratic and unfeeling. This is his purpose (see lines 234 sq.) of annihilating the human race, including, presumably, the Athenians' ancestors and their allies and kinsmen. How is this met by one who reads the *Agamemnon* Zeus into the *Prometheus Bound*? By explaining that Zeus meant to destroy the old race so as to 'create another in his own image!' Where does this idea come from? Not from the other plays of Aeschylus, no, nor from the two accounts in Hesiod; it looks more like a reminiscence of *Genesis*.

³ (Hermes to Prometheus):

μακρὸν δὲ μῆκος ἐκτελευτήσας χρόνον
ἄψορρον ἤξεις εἰς φάος.

⁴ Though I am not certain that the text cannot be explained well enough just as it stands.

emphatic indications of this immense lapse of time (much longer than the interval from the traditional date of Adam to the present time), such as ought to catch the attention of any audience, Aeschylean or modern.

Finally, it surely is not without significance that the chorus, outside of three brief and gentle criticisms of Prometheus,¹ the purpose of which will be considered later, is entirely on his side and in every reference to Zeus's part in the matter condemns his harshness² and expresses the deep sympathy which Prometheus's miserable plight arouses,³ and at the end chooses to perish with him. It is a commonplace, of course, that if any element in a Greek play may be taken as an index of what the poet wanted his audience to feel in reference to the plot, it is the chorus. And no hint is given by the chorus that Zeus's nature contains any trace of justice or faithfulness, while there are several references to his lawlessness, arrogance, and harshness. The whole drift of the play is epitomized in the last agonized cry of the Titan, the last words heard by the audience: *ἐκδίκᾳ πάσχω*.

To get a hint, now, of why Aeschylus paints Zeus in such gloomy colours, we need to recognize that in this act of the trilogy the poet is treating of Zeus at a definite period in the god's history—a history which Aeschylus did not invent but had to accept from his predecessors with all its difficulties for a man of his high ethical and religious thought. He might have avoided the difficulty in this particular story by merely saying that it was a question too hard for us to understand, as doubtless many a troubled clergyman has done with certain Old Testament stories like that of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart,⁴ which is so difficult to justify on moral grounds. At any rate, Aeschylus was in the delicate position of dramatizing an old tale, the outlines of which had been fixed by Hesiod and doubtless by many another before our play was written, wherein Zeus was represented as having committed three acts which by an Athenian auditor would be regarded as criminal: (1) he was guilty of revolution; (2) he had become a forcibly self-created despot;⁵ (3) he had committed violence against his own father. Anyone need know only the rudiments of Attic law and political tradition to realize the heinous nature of these three offences. What could the poet do? Ignore the tradition altogether? Treat lightly these (to an Athenian) damnable acts? Neither possibility is strong enough to merit discussion. At any rate, Aeschylus does neither. He keeps enough of the tradition to make it recognizable: though he does not stress the filial impiety of Zeus to Cronus in so many words,⁶

¹ 180 sqq., 261 sq., 543 sq. Cf. also 1036 sqq.

² See lines 149-151, 160-167, 186 sq., 403-406.

³ See especially lines 144 sqq., 244-247, 472, and the beautiful choral on Nature's lament beginning line 399.

⁴ Exod. vii. 3, 13 sq., 22, etc.

⁵ The words *τύραννος* and *τυραννίς* are used over a dozen times, chiefly by Prometheus, but also by Κρόνος, Oceanus, and Io; see lines 10, 224,

226, 307, 312, 359, 736, 756, 761, 909, 942, 956, 959, 996.

⁶ We get pretty close in 165 sq. (*δάμασαι Οὐρανὸν γένναν*). See also 203 sq., 221-223, 230, 910-912. Miss Case, *l.c.*, p. 100, believes that Aeschylus represented Zeus as repenting of this act and releasing his father. This may well have been so, though I do not see how it can be established, as Miss Case implies, on the basis of *Eumenides*, 641-646.

he does mention the conflict of Zeus with his father, and he makes prominent the revolt and the *τυραννίς*; and not only does he have Zeus do harsh things, but he characterizes the acts in no vague terms.

It will not do to beg the entire question by citing the presentation of Zeus in the *Supplices* or the *Agamemnon*. Nor are we convinced by those who would tell us that all the seeming harshness of Zeus in the *Prometheus Bound* can be explained away—the intention to obliterate men, the treatment of Io (by putting the blame on Hera, perhaps), the cruel and unusual punishment of Prometheus, Zeus turning out, in spite of appearances, to have been all the time mild and just. These, also, refuse to read the play as it is written, or to credit Aeschylus with meaning what he says. We must remember that the Athenian audience had to take the play just as it came from the actors' lips; it had no time, with the dramatic festival on in full course, to argue from the *Supplices* or the *Agamemnon* (not yet produced) or from other plays of Aeschylus, who was merely one among a number of playwrights. And we must remember that in the first half of the fifth century B.C. the theatre-goers depended almost entirely on the oral rendering in the theatre, not on reading the books at leisure. In judging, therefore, of double meanings and other matters of the sort, we might well take ourselves in imagination out of our libraries and into the crowded open-air theatre with the play in actual progress. Such a visualization of the trilogy will perhaps make us hesitate to assume either that the poet would write so cunningly that very few students with weeks of deliberate, piecemeal study can detect his meaning, or that in one act of his trilogy he would give the audience a situation which is perfectly convincing, and then proceed in the next to show that the first act gave an entirely wrong impression.

But if one were not to ignore the *Prometheus Bound* in determining what Zeus's character in the play is, and were to be willing to assume that it says what it means, and to accept the consequences of affirming unblushingly that in this particular play Zeus is pictured deliberately as harsh and lawless, he might wish to inquire how serious the consequences are. They are not really so bad as might be supposed from the efforts made to avoid them; and they may be stated rather compendiously as follows: Aeschylus represents Zeus in the first act of the trilogy as just beginning his reign—harsh, arbitrary, lawless (for this was the orthodox creed); he has just overthrown bitter and powerful enemies and has been organizing and consolidating his position. Hardly has he got settled, however, when he gets into conflict with the most dangerous, perhaps, among all the old guard, the intellectual and resourceful Prometheus. The stronger wins, and resolves to stamp out this first act of insubordination by a summary and severe punishment.¹ Zeus, however, has clearly overdone the matter. But Prometheus also has taken an attitude that

¹ This is just the attitude of Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone* under similar circumstances. Such instances of despotic harshness at the beginning

of a new régime must have been a commonplace in Greece.

is not flawless, as the chorus intimates and as Prometheus himself appears to admit.¹ This blemish, which is noted by the chorus, provides, as we shall see, a natural preliminary for the reconciliation between Zeus and Prometheus in the next act of the trilogy. But the present act, the *Prometheus Bound*, puts the emphasis not on Prometheus's fault, but rather on the harshness of Zeus and the magnificent courage and sturdy independence of Prometheus. After this act, the poet tells us, comes an immense lapse of time, which, the facts adducible make it reasonable to suppose, the poet has so stressed to provide for a mellowing of the harsh and arbitrary tyrant as well as a lessening of the recalcitrancy of the independent and rather unruly subject.² This permits a reconciliation of the two, Zeus granting release, Prometheus discovering the secret. But this way outsolves another question also—viz., which of the two stubborn antagonists yields? If there is no such growth of magnanimity in Zeus, no softening, we not only have him as bad in the end as in the beginning, and so an inconsistency between this trilogy and the others that really amounts to something and cannot be got around, but we also prevent a reconciliation (which we know happened in the *Prometheus Unbound*) on any reasonable basis. For in that case one of the two haughty natures must yield the whole ground that separates them. Zeus, unsoftened, obviously could not lower his dignity to such an extent; if Prometheus yields to the tyrant without any such relenting on the part of Zeus, what a sad anticlimax! I submit that no poet with any dramatic sense could in one act picture such a great heart as Prometheus, with the sympathy of the chorus, every actor (save two unlovely ones), and all nature, and then in the very next show that it was a mere nothing and quite out of place. On the other hand, with each character conscious of defects in its position, and especially with an amelioration of Zeus's autocratic harshness and of Prometheus's defiance, both can concede a point and still retain self-respect. We thus have a reconciliation possible by honourable compromise, and dramatic fitness is observed.

Is such a development of Zeus's character impossible for Aeschylus? I think not, for two reasons. We seem to have a fairly close analogy already in the ordinary Greek conception of Hercules, whereby the human personality (the roysterer and glutton of Euripides' *Alcestis*), after his translation from Oeta, acquires the dignity expected of the Olympians. Here surely is an evolution in the character of a superhuman being. We should not assume that our conception, that though man's view of God grows from age to age God Himself is changeless, was the Greeks' view also. They found no difficulty in supposing change in a deity, as is evidenced not only by the case of Hercules but by the tradition (as in the case of Hermes) that a god could be born an infant and progress to maturity. In the second place, Aeschylus had strong grounds for believing in such a progress as we suppose in the character of Zeus. Coming at an advanced period in religious thought, when clear-

¹ Line 268. I am not sure that ἡμαρτον has any moral connotation here.

² πάθει μάθος (*Ag.* 177).

minded and pious men were looking for something higher than gods wrangling over dynasty or prerogatives, yet before the sophists had cast the old stories into disrepute, he apparently had not arrived at a point where, like Plato, he might simply have lightened ship and started anew with a few fundamental religious assumptions. He had the old stories on his hands—just as many a theologian has laboured with some of the Old Testament stories—and I doubt not that many times Aeschylus felt hampered and troubled by the conflict between the tales and his own Eleusinian conceptions of deity. Yet, if orthodox, he could not easily abandon the common tales; it was a case of accepting and explaining as best he could. In the highly dramatic story of Zeus and Prometheus¹ there was the time-honoured, and so far, apparently, as he knew, authentic account of how Zeus had come to his throne by methods that were disreputable, or even, to an Athenian, criminal, had forthwith decided to cut off men, root and branch, had come to grips with their champion, Prometheus, and had given him a fiendish punishment. These main facts Aeschylus found in Hesiod, and did not alter essentially, merely explaining that the reason for Zeus's cruelty was the newness of his accession to power. But this picture alone, of course, was hardly a satisfactory account of Zeus as Aeschylus actually believed in him in the fifth century B.C. How reconcile the two? Aeschylus has solved the difficulty by so constructing the trilogy that both the ancestral tradition and his own view of Zeus may be conserved. For in the first 'act' Zeus is drawn in the traditional dark colours; but between the present 'act' in the trilogy and the next following 'act' a long and wearisome space of time is interposed, enough to permit Zeus to settle down into the character which he bears in the other plays of Aeschylus, and so look upon his old foe, now powerless, with a bigger and saner spirit. And so I have no doubt that in the *Prometheus Unbound* Aeschylus presented not only a wiser and more willing subject in Prometheus, but also a more just, beneficent, and lovable Zeus.

Thus, through an evolution, we are given a consistency between the *ultimate* character of Zeus as found in this trilogy and that depicted elsewhere in Aeschylus, are provided a natural opening for the reconciliation between the two mighty opponents, and are also permitted, in reading the *Prometheus Bound*, to read what is actually there, just as naturally as in our reading of the other plays.

O. J. TODD.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

¹ Which he had already treated in lighter vein a few years earlier (the satyr play of 472 B.C.,

according to the hypothesis of the *Persae*), doubtless before realizing its full dramatic possibilities.

THE ALPHABET OF VASTE.¹

ALL students of Greek epigraphy are familiar with the abecedarium discovered in 1805, 'prope Bastam (the modern *Vaste*) ruri quodam dicto *Melliche*,' by Luigi Cepolla, amongst whose papers (still preserved at Lecce in the *Biblioteca Provinciale*, Misc. Castromed. D. 29. 18) Mommsen found and published it in his *Unteritalische Dialekte* (1850). Cepolla's copy, though inaccurate, is not so bad, as I hope to show, as has usually been supposed. To be sure, he proposed to interpret an alphabet as a complete inscription, and actually 'translated' it! Nor, I think, could it be properly deciphered until more Messapic inscriptions than were known to Mommsen had been collected and their alphabet more closely studied. It has, however, long been recognized that the Vaste alphabet should be rightly regarded as essentially a Messapic (rather than a Greek) alphabet, although, as is well known, the alphabet of the Messapic inscriptions agrees in the main with the Tarentine-Ionic variety of the Western Greek alphabet; but the proposed explanations of Cepolla's transcript of the Vaste alphabet² have been most diverse, not to say perverse—certainly they have been largely arbitrary. They may be sought in the places cited in the footnote below. Cepolla gives the following copy:

5 10
 1.B.▷.FFI.H.I.KΛ.M.

15 20
 NOX. Q. PHΣ.TPΨΨ.

In this certain corrections are obvious, and were made at once by Mommsen or others—viz. for the first letter read A, fifth E, seventh Γ ,³ between eighth and ninth add Θ, after fourteenth add $\square$, for seventeenth read P; there remains the eighteenth letter; while the last three letters have been variously dealt with, but nowhere, I venture to think, satisfactorily as yet. In fact, the very disagreement between the various solutions suggested points to this conclusion.

The Messapic alphabet as established by Mommsen (*U.D.*, pp. 47 sq.), since whom it has not received any comprehensive treatment, is as follows:

¹ Mommsen, *U.D.*, p. 49, n. 6, cf. p. 51; Roehl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 546; Bergk, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, 1884, p. 333; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*, ed. 4, p. 157; Roberts, *Gr. Epigr.*, No. 268 (cf. p. 8, §§ 102 sq. p. 306); Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. et Ital.*, 2420. 5; Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.* III. (*Die Veneter*),

pp. 163 sqq.; Larfeld, *Hdb.* I., pp. 349 sqq.; Toscanelli, *Orig. Ital.* I., pp. 566 sqq.; Hammarström, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Etr. Lat. u. Gr. Alphabets* (Helsingfors, 1920), pp. 54 sqq.

² The original is lost.

³ Yet ζ is | at Colle (Roberts I., p. 18).

A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F ([)	⊥ (rarely Z)	H (∧)	Θ (⊕)
a	b	g	d	e	v	z	h	θ

(5)

I	K	Λ	M	N	+ (X)	O	□	R	s (ΣΣ)	T
i	k	l	m	n	ç	o	p	r	s	t

(10)
(15)
(20)

^b In the North Etruscan alphabets the same sign is generally employed for both *media* and *tenuis*.

³ I have discarded § (or ſ) because in the forthcoming *Pre.-I. D.*, Part II., I use § to transcribe

3 (cf. *daze3iai*¹ beside *dazeh[i]as*); and (ii.) Ψ , which, as Ribezzo has shown (*l.c.*), has the value of a sound written in Messapic inscriptions sometimes θ , sometimes t : this I transcribe as Ψ (cf. Ψ *aroas* : *taroas*, Ψ *aotora* : *θotora* (i.e. *θao-*), Ψ *abarovas* : *θabara*). Is it not clear that Cepolla's last two symbols $\Psi\Psi$ are either 3 and Ψ or Ψ and 3—placed last, as new symbols regularly are? We are now in a position to transcribe his alphabet thus :

a	b	g	d	e	v	z	h	[θ]	i	k	l	m
n	o	[p]	c	q	r	s̃	s	t	χ	Ψ	3	

all of which (except s^2) actually are found in Messapic inscriptions, and no others. It only remains to observe that *samech* (X ξ) has been transposed, and has taken the place of *san* (∇ ξ), which in turn has found a new position immediately before *sigma*, just as in the abecedarium of Metapontum (Kaibel, 2420. 4) *san* has ousted *sigma* and taken its place; and as in the abecedarium of Corinth (Roehl 20. 13) *samech* has taken the place of *san* and *san* the place of *sigma*.

As to the origin of the Messapic alphabet, the name 'Tarentine-Ionic' is sufficiently justified. We have a script clearly later than the adoption of the Ionic, with which it is partly in agreement; but there are survivals of the old Tarentine or Laconian alphabet in F ($\square$)= v , in H= h (not $\bar{e}$), in X (beside $+$)= ξ (ξ), in Q= q , and in Ψ (beside X)=3 (χ). Kirchhoff's view, therefore, that the Messapic alphabet is none other than the Tarentine or Laconian, with the omission of certain signs (v , ϕ , χ , ψ), and in no sense a 'mixed' alphabet, was not altogether an accurate one; Roberts was nearer the truth when he recognized in it both Tarentine and Ionic elements.

J. WHATMOUGH.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BANGOR.

¹ I should add that Messapic forms are cited from my (forthcoming) edition of the text.

² Even 3 occurs if, as Mommsen held, the

alphabet (though not the language) of the Brindisi *caduceus* is Messapic.

PURIFICATION IN HOMER.

THE religious value which we are entitled to attach to instances of purification in the Homeric poems is extremely small. It is important at the outset of the inquiry to get away from pre-conceived ideas founded on later religious practice, in the light of which the Homeric examples are instinctively interpreted. Chapter and verse from fifth century and later parallels is not necessarily authority for reading a religious significance into the account of an apparently secular act in Homer.

The first book of the *Iliad*¹ gives an example of a public ceremony of purification. There, at the command of the king, the people ἀπελυμαίνοντο καὶ εἰς ἄλλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον, before proceeding to sacrifice to Apollo. In the light of later custom,² there is a temptation to attach a religious meaning to the word λύματα, and to regard the act as a ceremony of religious purgation. It is, however, nothing more than a general washing of the host as a preliminary to sacrifice. Just as the mourning Achilles abstained from ablution before the funeral of Patroclus,³ so too as a sign of mourning the Achaeans abstained from washing during the plague. When the gloom is broken by the order to sacrifice, their first act is naturally to wash; but the λύματα removed thereby are no more the symbols of religious impurity than are those which Here removed from her person before anointing herself and going to the bed of Zeus.⁴ They are flung into the sea because it is the obvious place in which to deposit them; but they are no more religious in character than is the grime which the city man removes in the course of a 'wash and brush up' before lunch. The abstention from washing as a sign of mourning may be religious, at any rate the ablutions which end the vow are purely secular.

In the same connexion may be noticed Penelope's reply⁵ when she declines at the bidding of her nurse to bathe and wash the tears from her face after mourning. She does not say that it is against her religious principles, but that her face is so ugly anyhow that it is not worth the bother of washing it. She for her part is more concerned with the impropriety of going alone among men, and the nurse with the personal appearance of her mistress, than with any religious or ceremonial aspect of the case.

We may, therefore, reject the idea that the purification of the host is in itself a religious act, and study it in its other aspect, as the preliminary to sacrifice. To this, there are abundant parallels. The Achaeans wash their hands before prayer and sacrifice to Apollo, and again, having washed in the sea, bathe in fresh water before libations to Athene. Before prayer to Zeus,

¹ *Il.* i. 314 sq.

² E.g. *Ap. Rh. Arg.* 4. 710.

³ *Il.* 23. 44.

⁴ *Il.* 14. 171.

⁵ *Od.* 18. 170.

both Priam and Achilles wash their hands, Nestor has water brought by the heralds, and the Atreidae have water poured over their hands.¹

So, too, in the *Odyssey*, Telemachus washes his hands before prayer to Athene, has, like Athene, water poured over them before libations to Poseidon, and bathes before joining Nestor's sacrifice to Athene. That sacrifice is begun by Nestor with washing of hands, and the same ceremony precedes the libations which end the suitors' feast. Penelope, too, bathes and puts on clean clothes before her vows to the gods.²

On the other hand, there are many instances where no specific mention is made of washing before prayer and sacrifice. In some cases, of course, it is out of the question, as, for example, the prayers uttered in battle by Odysseus to Athene, or by Achilles to Zeus. Spontaneous prayers, like those made to the nymphs by Odysseus and Eumaeus, or to Zeus by Odysseus and a slave woman, do not appear to have demanded it. What is of more significance, especially in view of the fact that Homer is never unwilling to repeat himself, is that it is not mentioned in connexion with the prayers made on the seashore by Chryses to Apollo and Achilles to Thetis, nor with the sacrifices of Agamemnon to Zeus and Patroclus to the gods.³

Such preliminaries were not required in formal supplication of one mortal by another, as where Chryses prays to the Achaeans, and Odysseus to Arete. In the former case, indeed, the entreaty is definitely distinguished from prayer to a deity by the use of *λίσσασθαι* (cp. *λιτανεύω* *Od. loc. cit.*) as opposed to *ἀρᾶσθαι* and *εὐχέσθαι*.⁴

The Homeric attitude to this ceremony is admirably summed up in the words which Hector uses, when he sends his mother to sacrifice on his behalf, explaining that 'awe prevents me from pouring with unwashed hands the dark red wine to Zeus; it is not right for one who is bespattered with grime and blood to pray to Him who is shrouded in dark clouds, the son of Cronos.'⁵ It is not a religious conviction that is at stake, but a principle of common courtesy. Other heroes may, and do, pray to Zeus in the heat of battle; it is simply that Hector is more of a gentleman than they are. It is on exactly the same principle that a gardener will wipe his hands on his trousers before shaking hands with a visitor. If opportunity offers, the Homeric hero will wash his hands, and even bathe as well, before addressing himself to the immortals; but where circumstances are pressing, custom and cleanliness go to the wall.

It is on account of this feeling that washing before a meal is the rule rather than the exception, even where there is no indication of a sacrifice as well; a 'set' meal naturally implies also leisure in which to wash. A bath on arrival is, of course, the natural privilege of the traveller; but, in spite of the bath, before the meal which follows, water is often poured on the hands as

¹ *Il.* 1. 449; 10. 572; 16. 230; 24. 303; 3. 270. *Il.* 1. 34. 339; 7. 314; 9. 205 sq. (cp. *inter alia*,

² *Od.* 2. 261; 3. 338, 440, 464; 21. 270; 17. 58. *Od.* 8. 59; 9. 552; 12. 362; 13. 181).

³ *Il.* 10. 460; 21. 273 (cp. *inter alia*, 4. 119; ⁴ *Il.* 1. 15, 374. *Od.* 7. 145.

5. 115). *Od.* 10. 355; 17. 240; 13. 212; 20. 112.

⁵ *Il.* 6. 266.

well.¹ So too, before a meal, water is poured over the hands of the suitors, and of Athene on arrival at the house of Telemachus, while exultation over the slaughter of the suitors expresses itself in a perfect orgy of ablution. Telemachus and his friends bathe and dance, while Odysseus and Laertes are both conducted to the bath. Hermes alone, when he dines with Calypso off nectar and ambrosia, does not seem to have washed first; for mortals, however, it seems to have been the rule.²

So, too, it was desire for physical rather than religious purity that was responsible for the washing of corpses before a funeral. The Trojans washed the bodies of their dead before placing them on the pyre, Apollo washed the dead Sarpedon in the river before committing him to Sleep and Death for burial in Lycia, the Myrmidons washed the blood off the dead Patroclus with warm water before their lament, and the dead Achilles, too, was washed in warm water before being placed on the pyre. Though there is no mention of this ceremony in connexion with the cremation of Hector or of Elpenor, it is obvious that it was the regular custom from the lament of the shades of the suitors to Agamemnon, that no one had washed the blood from their wounds and laid them out with mourning, as is the due of the dead.³ In this lament is given the clue to the underlying idea. The physical cleanliness, which is the first aim of the warrior after battle or of the traveller after a journey, is thought desirable also for the dead. The same decency which prevented Hector from raising grimy, bloodstained hands in prayer to Zeus prevented also the relations of a dead warrior from taking a farewell of him before he was cleaned from the grime and stain of battle. It is forcing the point to see in it a mystical striving after ceremonial purity, before committing the dead man to the life beyond.

The Homeric hero is equally free from the later idea that contact with death involved impurity. Neither the Achaeans after the funeral of Patroclus, nor the Trojans after that of Hector, seem to have purified themselves from the taint of death, but proceeded, the former to games, the latter to a feast. Odysseus and his friends did not purify themselves after the funeral of Elpenor, but at once accepted the invitation of Circe to a feast. Nor did Agamemnon purify himself after a dream, as a later Greek would have done,⁴ but straightway dressed and took his sceptre.

Last of all, even murder did not involve impurity. Witness the case of Theoclymenus,⁵ who approached Telemachus at a sacrifice to implore his protection; there is no hint of any stain attaching to him, or suggestion that his presence would pollute the sacrifice. After the slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus bids the men scrape the floor and throw the scrapings outside—it is exactly parallel to the case of the λύματα—and then he cleanses the hall with

¹ *Od.* 4. 48; 8. 450; 10. 360, 451; 17. 87.

² *Od.* 23. 131, 153; 24. 365; 5. 86.

³ *Il.* 7. 425; 16. 669; 18. 345. *Od.* 24. 45.

Il. 24. 708. *Od.* 12. 10; 24. 187.

⁴ *Il.* 23. 258; 24. 802. *Od.* 12. 10. *Il.* 2. 41 (cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 201; Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 4. 664; Arist. *Frogs* 1339.

⁵ *Od.* 15. 256.

fire and sulphur. This is no religious ceremony ; there has been a battle royal in the hall, and it was left in an unspeakable condition, requiring vigorous measures to make it sanitary.¹

It is therefore amply clear that we must not interpret purification in Homer in the light of later beliefs ; it is inspired solely by a proper and sanitary striving after cleanliness, both of body and belongings. Whether the doctrines later prevalent are a survival from the Minoan period, a recrudescence of forces temporarily dormant, or a posthomeric importation from Lydia, does not affect the issue. The Homeric hero was on intimate terms with his gods, and treated them very much as he did his fellow men. It was common decency, and nothing more, that forbade him to take part, without first washing, either in a sacrifice or prayer to his gods, or in a meal along with his companions.

M. M. GILLIES.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

¹ *Od.* 22. 451 sq.

THE ARISTOTELIAN CATEGORIES.

THE precise position to be assigned to the Categories in the Aristotelian system has always been somewhat of a puzzle. On the one hand, they seem to be worked into the warp of its texture, as in the classification of change, and Aristotle can argue from the premiss that they constitute an exhaustive division of the kinds of Being (*An. Post.* I. 22, p. 83 b 15). On the other hand, both in the completed scheme of his logic and in his constructive metaphysic they retire into the background, giving place to other notions, such as causation, change, actuality and potentiality. Investigation has, moreover, been hampered, especially in Germany, by attempts to correlate them with the Kantian Categories, with which they have obvious points of contact. But Kant's formal *a priori* concepts by which the mind makes for itself a world, to use Mr. Bosanquet's phrase, imply an attitude to knowledge and reality so utterly opposed to the Aristotelian that the comparison has tended to confusion rather than elucidation. Scholars now realize better that the Aristotelian Categories can only be understood in connexion with the problems of Aristotle's own age.

The best general account of the Categories known to me is that given by Maier,¹ who accepts the interpretation of Apelt² in its main lines, correcting it in some important points. It is the great merit of Apelt to have firmly grasped the principle that, whatever the applications to which Aristotle put the scheme of the Categories, it is primarily connected with the use of linguistic thought to make assertions about reality and hence with the proposition, the judgment as expressed in language. In details, I think, he is misled by the associations of post-Kantian logic, which prevent him from entering fully into the attitude adopted by the early Greek logic towards the fact of assertion.

In view of the undoubted fact that the scheme of the Categories follows the lines of Socratic-Platonic thought, Gercke's suggestion³ is tempting that it originated in the Academy. Gercke, whose own view of the Categories is strongly coloured by Kantianism, relies almost entirely on the greater point given to the arguments in the *Ethics* against the Idea of the Good if we suppose them to accuse Plato of inconsistency with his own doctrine of the Categories. Except as supplementing strong independent evidence an argument of this kind carries no weight. The case is certainly weakened if it can be shown that Aristotle uses the Categories to solve a philosophical problem in explicit opposition to the solution offered by the Academy. This can be done, I think. In *Metaph.* N. 2. 1088 b 18 he sets the Categories against Platonist doctrine. He is criticizing the ἀόριστος δυνάς, and traces the origin of this conception to τὸ ἀπορῆσαι ἀρχαῖκῶς: the Platonists found it necessary to attack the Parmenidean dictum and establish the existence of τὸ μὴ ὄν (cf. Plato, *Sophist* 237 A, 256 D). But how will this account for the plurality of being (τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐσία σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ποιόν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ποσόν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὴ κατηγορίας 1089 a 7)? In the corresponding passage of the *Physics* (I. 2. 184 b 15 sqq.) Aristotle solves the Parmenidean difficulty through the multiplicity of the Categories (186 a 25), and alludes to the inadequacy of the Academic solution (187 a 1).

¹ Maier, *Die Syllogistik des Aristoteles*, II. 277 sqq.

² O. Apelt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, 1891, pp. 106 sqq.

³ A. Gercke, *Ursprung der aristotelischen Kategorien*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1891, Vol. IV., pp. 424 sqq.

The inference to be drawn from these passages, in conjunction with the chapter in the *Ethics* on which Gercke relies, is the negative one that Plato and his successors in the Academy did not apply the scheme of the Categories to the fundamental philosophical questions of Being and Good. Positive evidence must be sought in another aspect of the doctrine. Now the *Topics* exhibits the Categories in intimate association with dialectical logic. The work itself purports to codify methods in regular use but not hitherto systematically treated. That these methods were employed in the Academy is amply attested by the Platonic dialogues.¹ Further, as the *Topics* and particularly the *Sophistici Elenchi* show, they were developed in close connexion with the eristic logic of Antisthenes and the Megarians. This fact at once establishes a contact with the treatment of the problem 'one thing, many names' in Plato's *Sophist* (251 A). This difficulty was removed by drawing a distinction between different kinds of being, and Aristotle himself regards it as finally disposed of by the doctrine of the Categories. That some of the kinds of being included in the scheme were already recognized in the Academy is plain. In the *Topics* τὰ πρὸς τι have a number of their own τόποι, and the varieties of πρὸς τι enumerated in the *Categories* follow closely on the lines of division in the *Charmides*.² Much of the matter of the *Topics* must have been common to Academy and Lyceum. But this is not to say that the Categories as a complete and exhaustive scheme belonged to the Academy. Eudemus (apud Simplicius, *Phys.* I., p. 97. 25 Berlin) tells us that Plato solved the difficulties of Lycophron and others by a *dual* distinction of being.

I shall accordingly assume in what follows that the scheme of the Categories was evolved in the course of efforts to establish a doctrine of judgment which should settle the difficulties raised by Megarian and other critics; that the application to the solution of the larger metaphysical problems was a later development;³ that the foundations of the scheme were laid in the Socratic tradition of the Academy; that the completed scheme is probably Aristotle's own; and that the original working out of the scheme did not contemplate extension beyond the metaphysics implied in predication to the more fundamental metaphysics of the First Philosophy. Hence we must look to the analysis of empirical propositions for the origin of the scheme.

Now if we examine the scheme itself, we find three aspects of it to have special significance:

(a) The first is the distinction between predication κατὰ συμβεβηκός and predication καθ' αὐτό.⁴ Μονικός may be γραμματικός, but only κατ' ἄλλο, viz.: quā Kaλλίας; Kaλλίας is γραμματικός καθ' αὐτόν. This distinction provides the first condition of scientific predication, and is regarded as of fundamental importance by Aristotle, who prefaces his accounts of such notions as unity and being with references to the accidental uses of these terms (*Metaph.* Δ 6, 1015 b 16; 7, 1017 a 7).

(b) Closely connected with the previous distinction is the doctrine that all the Categories (including οὐσία as predicate) imply a ὑποκείμενον, which is the point of real connexion between the predicates, and provides the basis of their coexistence. The Categories classify the πολλὰ ὀνόματα which we apply to the τὶς ἄνθρωπος (*Sophist* 251 A), and give expression to the fact that he does not lose his unity in the process.

¹ Analysis of the arguments in the *Charmides* shows that nearly all make use of τόποι dealt with by Aristotle in the *Topics*.

² Cf. with *Categ.* 6 a 36 sqq., *Charmides*, 168 A. The list in *Rep.* 437 B is the same and in the same order.

³ Here I follow Maier.

⁴ See the distinction of ὃν κατὰ συμβεβηκός and

ὃν καθ' αὐτό, *Metaph.* Δ 7, 1017 a 7 sqq. Apelt's equation of ὃν καθ' αὐτό and τὸ κατὰ μηδεμίαν συμ-πλοκὴν λεγόμενον (*op. cit.*, p. 117) is manifestly wrong. Καθ' ὃ or καθ' αὐτό means that the determination attaches to the subject in respect of the subject itself and not in respect of the determination. See καθ' ὃ and καθ' αὐτό, *Metaph.* Δ 18, 19, 1022 a 14 sqq.

(c) Furthermore, all direct relations of implication and incompatibility lie within the Categories severally. They are, so to say, independent variables. The relation of genus to species is everywhere confined within the limits of a category, and so is the relation of contrary opposition. This suggests a close connexion with the Platonic *διαίρεσις*, which, as we know from the *Sophist* and the *Politicus* and from Aristotle, was so prominent in the Platonic conception of scientific method.

The intimate connexion between the Categories and the Predicables provides an invaluable clue to the meaning of the Categories. For in the *Topics* we are told that both of these schemes are the principal instruments in the equipment of the dialectician, and they are used in constant conjunction throughout the detailed discussions of that work.¹ Whether the extant treatise on the *Categories* be the work of Aristotle himself or of a later member of the Lyceum, the close general correspondence between its point of view and that of the *Topics* entitles us to use it as an authority for the official doctrine of the school.² Now the *Topics* is a practical manual of Dialectic to be compared with the *τέχναι* of Rhetoric;³ and internal evidence shows that the dialectical practices there codified are at least predominantly, if not exclusively, those of the Platonic tradition. We may, therefore, see a close connexion between the scheme of the Categories and the technique of the Platonic dialectic. This technique embodied the logic of the Academy in large measure, and was the forerunner of the Aristotelian syllogism, leaving its clearly discernible traces in the scientific syllogism of the *Posterior Analytics*.

If we are to understand the dialectical logic, we must bear in mind that it was developed in connexion with the practice of dialectical discussion, which demanded rules of debate so that it should not lapse into aimless conversation. Some of these rules determined the procedure, such as those which defined the privileges and duties of questioner and answerer.⁴ Others were of a more strictly logical nature. But this logic was clothed in the dress appropriate to the occasion, and logical distinctions themselves were drawn in a form close to the untechnical speech of everyday life. Thus in Plato definition is simply the answer to the question *τί ἐστί*, carefully limited; the technical name for the process, *ὀρισμός*, seems of later date. The ancient commentators on the *Categories*⁵ distinguished three relations as implied in the logical judgment: (1) A relation asserted between things; (2) a relation between the terms as verbal signs (*φωναί*); (3) a relation between ideas in the mind of him who forms the judgment. These three relations were in ancient times regarded as parallel. The third is recognized by Aristotle as a *σύνθεσις νοημάτων*, but is treated merely as a 'psychological presupposition'⁶ of the logical proposition or judgment as expressed in words, which is the subject of logical analysis. So in

¹ See *Topics* I. 4-9, 101 b 11 sqq. The predicables and the categories together constitute *περὶ ὧν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἐξ ὧν*, 103 b 39; the material has to be organized on this basis before it can be used in argument. The close correspondence between *Topics* and *Categories* is illustrated, *inter alia*, by the fact that the commonest *τόποι*, *ἐκ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον* and *ἐξ ἐναντίων* are supplemented in the *Categories* by discussions how far these distinctions are to be recognized in several categories.

² No satisfactory grounds for the rejection of the *Categories* have been adduced. The discrepancies with other works of the Corpus, e.g. the *Metaphysics*, are explicable on the hypothesis that this is an early work, of the same horizon as the *Topics*. The confusion between thought and verbal expression observable in some passages

suggests immaturity of logical development.

³ *Soph. El.* 183 b 25 alludes to the *τέχναι* of Tisias and other rhetors, and claims to be doing for Dialectic what they did for Rhetoric.

⁴ The sixth book of the *Topics* lays down the etiquette for questioner and answerer: the treatment implies a strict separation of these rôles. The complaint of Thrasymachus in *Republic* 337 A that Socrates will ask, but not answer, questions may perhaps point to a convention established in the Socratic schools.

⁵ Simplicius in *Categ.*, pp. 9 sqq., Kalbfleisch.

⁶ The phrase is Meinong's. Meinong's *Gegenstandstheorie* is useful in its recurrence to the thoroughly objective and realistic attitude towards knowledge which distinguishes ancient from most modern thought.

Plato thought is described as inner speech (*Sophist* 263 A). Moreover, as the relation in thought tends to be merged in the relation in language, so the latter tends to have incorporated in it objective relations between things. The formal analysis of proposition and syllogism in the *Prior Analytics* uses the logical term mainly in its aspect of class-denotation; but we do not hear of logical terms in the *Topics*, which represents a less developed stage of logical analysis. There subjects and predicates are distinguished according to the real relations between things which are classified in the schemes of the Categories and the Predicables. The analysis contained in the *Prior Analytics* presupposes the use of symbols and diagrams; the earlier analysis is one that would develop in the process of dialectical discussion, with a marked emphasis on the vital importance of definition. Its nomenclature starts from the simple distinction between names (ὀνόματα) and things (πράγματα). At the outset the proposition seems to have been considered as primarily giving two names to one thing.¹

The development of the complementary schemes of Categories and Predicables seems to have been determined partly by the necessity of overcoming difficulties arising from the application of Eleatic and quasi-Heraclitean principles in the domain of knowledge, partly by the original orientation of the Socratic methodology.

The possibility of rational discussion was challenged in the name of strict logic itself. How can I give more than one name to one thing? A thing *is* itself, and not anything else. So I may rationally say 'man is man' and 'white is white'; but I cannot say 'man is white' without an equivocation in the use of the verb to be.² This Eleatizing objection can only be met by an appeal to experience, like the Parmenidean rejection of the plurality of existence. Experience shows that within certain limits many names may be applied to one and the same thing without destroying its concrete unity. In accordance with this fact another kind of 'being' must be assumed. The systematic development of this point of view results in the scheme of the Categories.

Rational discussion was equally imperilled by the tendency of an infant logic to confuse names with things and grammatical forms with logical meanings, and so justify all sorts of absurd inferences. What the trivially ingenious minds of the Greek eristics could do in this line we know from the *Euthydemus* and the *Sophistici Elenchi*. If the doctrine of Antisthenes reduced the area of significant predication to so small a compass that all contradiction disappeared, so this other tendency removed all criteria of truth and falsehood. To meet a laxity of thinking which allowed (e.g.) the inference that if Socrates is both Socrates and a man, he is other than himself,³ it was necessary to limit systematically the conditions of mutual implication.

The double scheme of Categories and Predicables as a whole centred round the Socratic τί ἐστιν; According to the Socratic method you can only determine the question πότερον ἢ ἀρετὴ διδακτὸν ἢ οὐ; when you have defined the term ἀρετή (*Meno* 70 A). Definition implies the analysis of species into genus and differentia; but διδακτὸν is not related to ἀρετὴ in either of these ways—how then is it related to

¹ The term κατηγορία in its specially technical sense of Category goes back to this early way of regarding the judgment. As Maier shows (against Apelt), *op. cit.*, II. 304n, it primarily expresses, not the relation of predicate term to subject term in the SP proposition of the *Prior Analytics*, but the relation of the ὄνομα to its object. But Maier himself looks at the matter through modern spectacles; he writes: 'Das Wort ist κατηγορία, sofern als Prädikat seiner

Bedeutung, seines Begriffs.' This is too sophisticated for a primitive logic. Adam gave names to things, not to meanings; these things have natures of their own, signified by the name. It is wise to avoid speaking of concepts and Begriffe in connexion with Plato and Aristotle.

² *Sophist* 251 A. Cf. *Metaphysics* Δ 29, 1024 b 32.

³ See *Soph. El.* 166, b. 32.

ἀπερί? The answer to this question completes the list of the Predicables. The *Topics*, which embodies the point of view of dialectical logic, is so dominated by the system of the Predicables as to represent organized knowledge in a totally different light from the *Prior Analytics*. That work seems to aim at a progressive series of syllogisms after the manner of Euclid, whereas the *Topics* sets up as its goal the systematization of all possible predicates of one and the same subject. Both subject and predicate are thought of objectively in terms of the objects signified, not in terms of the signs, as things and their modifications, their qualities and their behaviour.

The *Topics* and the Platonic dialogues point to an early dialectical logic, realistic in its general attitude and terminology, the traces of which still survive in the more highly developed system of Aristotelian logic. This dialectical logic works with four fundamental notions: (1) The *πρᾶγμα* or thing in its empirical setting, of which (2) the *ὄνομα* is the verbal sign; (3) the *οὐσία* or essence of the thing, the thing as it is for analytical thought, of which (4) the *λόγος* or *λόγος τῆς οὐσίας*, the defining formula, is the sign in speech. The quadruple distinction is explicitly stated in Plato's *Laws*, appears again and again in the Platonic dialogues, and is not wholly superseded in the developed logic of Aristotle.¹ Its influence may be traced in Aristotle's doctrine of definition. In modern formal logic the definition would be resolved into a proposition with a convertible predicate attached to the subject by the copula. But Aristotle distinguishes the *ἐστίν* of definition from the copula of the ordinary proposition: the latter implies that you predicate *τὸ κατὰ τινος*; but in *ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ ζῶον* or *ζῶον πεζὸν δίπουν* the *ἐστί* does not imply *τὸ κατὰ τινος*, because *ζῶον πεζὸν δίπουν* are really part of the *πρᾶγμα*, because part of its *οὐσία*. For the same reason the *ποιόν* of the *διαφορά* of anything in the category of *οὐσία* is properly treated under *οὐσία*, and not under the category of *ποιόν*.²

The objective and material character of the early dialectical logic and its preoccupation with names is well exhibited in the use made by the *Topics* of inherent relations between terms—e.g. similarity and contrariety. The attention of the early logicians was turned to the mutual relations of implication or incompatibility implied directly or indirectly by certain terms. The abstract investigation of the relations between three terms *ABΓ* contained in the *Prior Analytics* belongs to a later stage of logical development. The Aristotelian treatment of opposition is instructive in this regard. Of the four varieties enumerated, three—viz. relation, contrariety, *ἕξις* and *στέρησις*—are expressed in terms, and only the fourth, contradiction, deals with propositions as such. Dialectic was a material logic, using certain common notions as science now uses the notions of cause or function.³

If we regard it as established that the Categories as a scheme were developed from the motives above indicated, the question awaits us, Why precisely these ten Categories?

The omission of *κίνησις* as a separate category has troubled those critics who, under the influence of Kantian ideas or the position of *στάσις* and *κίνησις* in Plato's

¹ *Laws* 895 D ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις περὶ ἕκαστον τρία νοεῖν . . . ἐν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν λόγον, ἐν δὲ ὄνομα. The fourth term *πρᾶγμα* is given in *ἕκαστον*.

² There is a curious passage in *Topics* II. 1, 109a 10, which seems to retain a vestige of a primitive treatment of predication as giving two names to one thing: *ἔστι δὲ χαλεπώτατον τὸ ἀντιστρέφειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος οικείαν ὀνομασίαν* τὸ γὰρ πῇ καὶ μὴ καθόλου ἐπὶ μόνων ἐνδέχεται τῶν συμβεβηκότων. Ἀντιστρέφειν here does not mean the convertibility of S and P in exten-

sion, as in the *Prior Analytics*. It means the interchangeability of the expressions τῷ A ὑπάρχει τό B and A ἐστὶ B: in definition they are convertible, for ὑπάρχει τῷ A ζῷον πεζὸν δίπουν εἶναι is equivalent to A ἐστὶ ζῷον πεζὸν δίπουν; but ὑπάρχει τῷ A ἡ λευκότης does not imply A ἐστὶ λευκός, for he may be white only κατὰ τι—e.g. the eyeballs. The phrase *οικείαν ὀνομασίαν* recalls the *οικεῖος λόγος* of Antisthenes, *Metaph.* Δ 29, 1024 b 32.

³ *Categ.* 11 b 16; *Metaph.* Δ 5, 1018 a 20.

Sophist, sought to find in the scheme a classification of primary cosmogonic concepts. But its omission is no more unintelligible than that of causation. For in change is implied something that changes and has successively opposing predicates attached to it. The representation of becoming requires two propositions about being. In point of fact, the scheme provides for an exhaustive classification of change from its own standpoint.

Trendelenburg's suggestion that the grammatical parts of speech had at least a considerable influence in determining the details of the scheme has been unduly depreciated by later writers. The account of the category of relation especially shows that grammatical expression was prominent in the minds of those who invented the scheme; and Aristotle himself has to warn his readers that grammatical form may be a misleading guide in assigning a term to its proper category.¹ The *Cratylus* and the *Topics* supply abundant evidence that the first workers in the field of logic had great difficulty in disentangling logical meaning from verbal expression. The suggestion does not carry us very far; but inasmuch as it connects the scheme with the somewhat pedestrian task of clearing up elementary obscurities in the ordinary use of thought, and not with any ambitious attempt to find a formula for the universe, Trendelenburg was on the right track.

The suggestion thrown out by several writers² that the number ten is due to Pythagorizing influences appears to me baseless. It is impossible to link up the scheme with the list of ten pairs of contraries attributed by Aristotle to some of the Pythagoreans.³ Aristotle's own *συστοιχία* of opposites lies within the several categories.⁴ Moreover, the scheme seems remote from the Pythagorean aspect of the Platonic philosophy, and belongs rather to the Socratic dialectic.

The most promising line of investigation lies in examining the examples of the several categories given in the detailed list of the *Categories*. Further illustration comes from the uses to which the scheme is put in the *Topics*; for if it owes its origin to the logical analysis of predication, its primary meaning is to be sought in such passages rather than in those where it is extended to scientific and philosophical questions.

Now if we take the list of examples given in the *Categories*, we find that the *ὑποκείμενον* of which they are all asserted can only be an individual man, naturally designated by a proper name—Socrates, Callias, Coriscus. *Categ.* 4, 1 b 27 sqq.: *ἔστι δὲ οὐσία μὲν ὡς τύπῳ εἰπεῖν οἶον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος· ποσὸν δὲ οἶον δίπηχυν, τρίπηχυν· ποῖον δὲ οἶον λευκόν, γραμματικόν· πρὸς τι δὲ οἶον διπλάσιον, ἥμισυν, μείζον· ποῦ δὲ οἶον ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐν Λυκείῳ· ποτὲ δὲ οἶον ἐχθές, πέρυσιν· κέσθαι δὲ οἶον ἀνάκειται, κάθηται· ἔχειν δὲ οἶον ὑποδέχεται, ὥπλισται· ποιεῖν δὲ οἶον τέμνει, καίει· πάσχειν δὲ οἶον τέμνεται, καίεται.* This is the only list of examples extant, and, if it stood alone, might reasonably be regarded simply as one selected for the purposes of elementary exposition. But it does not stand alone; there are many passages which give this fact a deeper significance.

As we have seen, the distinction of *κατὰ συμβεβηκός* and *καθ' αὐτὸ* is intimately connected with the scheme of the *Categories*. Aristotle is fond of prefixing to his accounts of the scientific uses of terms some instances of their use in an accidental sense. It will be found that these instances are usually of the same type, implying an individual man as *ὑποκείμενον*. Thus in *Metaph.* Δ 2, 1013 b 34 sqq., the accidental use of *αἷτιον* is illustrated by the terms *Πολύκλειτος ἀνδριαντοποῖς ἄνθρωπος ζῶν λευκὸς μουσικός*: *ibid.* 6, 1015 b 16 sqq., ἐν illustrated by *Κόρισκος μουσικός δίκαιος*:

¹ *Soph.* El. 166 b 16: *οἶον τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τῆς λέξεως λέγεται τῷ τέμνειν ἢ οἰκοδομεῖν· καίτοι τὸ μὲν ποῖον τι καὶ διακείμενον σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν τι.*

² E.g. Gercke, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

³ *Metaph.* A 5, 986 a 22.

⁴ *Gen. Corr.* I. 3, 319 a 14; *Metaph.* Γ 2, 1004 b 27.

ibid. 7, 1017a7 sqq., ὃν illustrated by ἄνθρωπος οἰκοδόμος δίκαιος μουσικός. Many other examples might be added.

Similarly it will be found that a favourite type of proposition used to illustrate fallacies in the *Sophistici Elenchi* is that in which the subject is a proper name.

If, again, we turn to the passage in Plato's *Sophist* where the question is raised how one thing can have many names (251 A), the example is the individual man. Later on in the same dialogue, where the simple proposition is analyzed, the examples chosen are Θεαίτητος κἀθεται, Θεαίτητος πέτεται (263 A).

These passages furnish a basis on which to build. I put forward the hypothesis that the scheme was built up by an investigation, gradually becoming more systematic, into types of predicates which could be attached to one and the same subject at one and the same time. It was built up in dialectical discussion, and by a convention (students of Greek methods will have no difficulty in admitting the probability of a convention in this connexion) one of the company was chosen as the example (as in *Sophist* l.c.). Observe that the typical proper names used in logical examples in the *Topics* and other Aristotelian works tend to be taken from the Socratic-Platonic circles—Socrates himself, Callias the art-patron of the *Protagoras*, Coriscus the Academician.¹ The choice of the individual man as ὑποκείμενον is not to be considered fortuitous. For only in the case of human beings was the proper name in use, and the proper name as such is a mere label attached to a 'this' and directly implying no 'what,' so that it is normally subject and not predicate. To refute the critic who denied that many predicates could be asserted of the same thing it was necessary to develop the scheme with an identical subject throughout. The *Categories* show that the official exposition of the scheme in the Lyceum took Socrates or Callias or Coriscus as subject, and worked through the list on this basis. Moreover, as the most complete, the most concrete object known, a human being would be most suitable for developing an exhaustive scheme of predication, since to him alone could moral and many psychological predicates attach.

If the scheme is considered in reference to such a subject as Callias, we can see something of a serial order in it; for though Aristotle does not always enumerate the *Categories* in the same order, still there is a sort of average order. First we have the predicates describing him as a whole in the category of substance. Then a group describing certain qualitative and quantitative aspects of him as he is in himself. To these have to be added some aspects implying determinate relations to others; thus πατήρ at first sight might seem a substantive predicate, but if it is so regarded or treated as implying an indeterminate correlative, as in some of the eristic quibbles (e.g., *Euthydemus* 298 B), absurdities follow. Then come two variable relations to the world around, in place and time: these have to be added in order to meet such sophistical interpretations of ὁ κάμνων ὑγιαίνει as imply that health and illness are not incompatible, for if implicit time-qualifications are inserted, the proposition becomes ὁ τότε κάμνων νῦν ὑγιαίνει and the contradiction disappears. Then, again, Callias as a complex body can vary the position of his limbs relatively to each other and to the outer space: κείσθαι. In a certain extended sense Callias includes all that he calls *his*, things that from another standpoint are outside him, his possessions, and specially the clothes he is wearing, and the instruments he is using. Lastly, his relations with determinate things in the environment are those of agent or patient: as surgeon he uses knife or cautery, as patient he has these used upon his body. Thus in connexion with Callias the *Categories* present in a systematized and exhaustive form our idea of Callias as a concrete being, a going concern in a changing environment.

¹ Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, p. 117, suggests that the use of Coriscus' name as a school-example probably goes back to the time, soon after the death

of Plato, when Aristotle, Coriscus, and other Academicians sojourned at Assus.

This hypothesis, that the scheme was originally developed in connexion with an individual name as the typical subject, seems to provide a satisfactory explanation of some of the difficulties and anomalies of the list.

Two of the Categories, *κείσθαι* and *ἔχειν*, have always been a great stumbling-block in the way of interpretation. They are never explicitly mentioned except in the complete list of the *Categories* and that of the *Topics*, both of which treatises belong to the same plane of thought. The ancient commentators had apparently no information about them beyond what is contained in the *Categories* and book Δ of the *Metaphysics*. As regards their content, the fundamental difficulty is this: all the other categories can be applied quite intelligibly to other objects than men, and are so far free to be used as universal aspects of being. But these two categories in respect of the examples given in illustration include only states peculiar to men: *κείσθαι* in its examples is simply 'posture' (rather like *σχῆμα* in the medical treatises), standing, sitting, reclining; while *ἔχειν* means wearing shoes or carrying armour.

We have no real evidence for the use of these terms as *categories* in a generalized sense. *Κείσθαι*, with its correlative *θέσις*, is capable of extension to any material object in space: the cup may lie the right way up or on its side or upside down, irrespective of its place as a whole (covered by the category of *ποῦ*). But I know of no evidence that such determinations would be included by Aristotle under the category. The position of the stone relatively to the framework of the door determines whether it is to be called *ὑπέρθυρον* or *οὐδός*: they differ *θέσει*.¹ Position is part of the idea, just as time forms part of the idea of *καίριος*: the analogy suggests that Aristotle is here thinking of the category of *κείσθαι*. But ultimately these distinctions can be resolved into spatial relations, and in any case they do not carry the implications that standing, sitting, and reclining have for human life.

As regards *ἔχειν*, we have accounts of *ἔξις* and *διάθεσις* in book Δ of the *Metaphysics*. *Ἐξις* is treated immediately after *διάθεσις*, and both these terms are recognized in the *Categories* and elsewhere (*Cat.* 8 b 26) as *ποιότητες*. But before this common sense of *ἔξις*, the verbal noun correlative with the intransitive meaning of *ἔχειν*, the writer notices a use connected with the transitive meaning of the verb: *ἔξις λέγεται ἓνα μὲν τρόπον οἷον ἐνέργειά τις τοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ ἐχομένου, ὥσπερ πράξις τις ἡ κίνησις. ὅταν γὰρ τὸ μὲν ποιῇ, τὸ δὲ ποιῆται, ἔστι ποίησις μεταξὺ οὗτω καὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος ἐσθῆτα καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης ἐσθῆτος ἔστι μεταξὺ ἔξις. ταύτην μὲν οὖν φανερόν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν τὴν ἔξιν· εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ βαδιέται, εἰ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔσται ἔχειν τὴν ἔξιν* (*Metaph.* Δ 20, 1022 b 4 sqq.). The last words are added in order to contrast this sort of *ἔξις* with *ἔξις* as formed faculty, since you can say *ἔχει ἀρετήν*; and as *ἔξις* in the latter sense comes under *ποιόν*, the writer may be thinking of the category of *ἔχειν*. Now this transitive sense of *ἔξις* is unusual; Liddell and Scott contains no examples except this one in Aristotle and several from Plato.² One of these seems to have some bearing on the present subject. In *Theaetetus* 197 B a careful distinction is drawn between *κτῆσις* and *ἔξις*. *Ἐπίστασθαι* has been defined, says Socrates, as *ἐπιστήμης ἔξις*, but he prefers *ἐπιστήμης κτῆσις*: *οὐ τοίνυν μοι ταῦτόν φαίνεται τῷ κεκτησθαι τὸ ἔχειν· οἷον ἱμάτιον πριάμενός τις καὶ ἐγκρατὴς ὢν μὴ φορῶν, ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτό, κεκτησθαι γὰρ μὴν φαίμεν. Ἐχειν is wearing clothes in contrast with merely possessing them. So in *Laws* 625 C *τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἔξιν* means the carrying of arms. When Aristotle describes the active *ἔξις* as an *ἐνέργεια*, has he similarly in mind the actuality of wearing the clothes as contrasted with the potentiality of mere possession?*

¹ *Metaph.* H 2, 1042 b 19.

Ross, *ad Ar. Metaph.* 1022 b 4, gives the following examples: *Metaph.* 1055 b 13; *De*

Respir. 474 a 26; *De An. Inc.* 711 a 6; Plato, *Rep.* 433 E 12; *Crat.* 414 B 9; *Theaet.* 197 B 1; *Soph.* 247 A 5; *Laws* 625 C.

In Δ 23, 1023 a 8 sqq., various meanings of the verb ἔχειν are noted. The first includes the case of dress, and apparently seeks to generalize it: ἕνα μὲν τρόπον τὸ ἄγειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁρμήν, διὸ λέγεται πυρετός τε ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ ἀμπεχόμενοι. The wording of the definition seems evolved in parallelism with the fourth sense of holding or supporting: ἔτι τὸ κωλύον κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁρμήν τι κινεῖσθαι ἢ πράττειν . . . οἶον καὶ οἱ κίονες τὰ ἐπικείμενα βάρη. Other meanings enumerated are the containing of the form by the ὕλη or δεκτικόν, as the brass contains the form of the statue and the body contains disease, and the containing of the water by the vessel or the population by the city. The common idea found by Aristotle in the examples under the first head is active possession or, more briefly, use, and there is thus a close connexion between this ἔχειν and the ἔξις of the *Theaetetus*. Both appear brought into conjunction with the Category through the common examples.

I suggest that this is precisely what was meant by the original Category of ἔχειν. In running through the various items composing your idea of a man, you find one essential to civilized man and not shared by any other creature—viz. the use of artefacta, clothes, arms, instruments. This forms a unique class of activities or bases of activities. In course of time the scheme was put to new uses. From being a sort of working classification of predicates used in connexion with dialectical propaedeutic it came to be a groundwork of scientific logic and method, as in the classification of changes in terms of the four relevant categories. Hence the two categories κείσθαι and ἔχειν, which were directly applicable only to mankind, were quietly dropped, or at least relegated to the background.

The hypothesis that the scheme originated in connexion with dialectical discussion accounts for another important feature of it, the nomenclature. For it is to be observed that six of the categories, all those that are not normally expressed by verbs, have names *implying answers to questions*. Πόσον ποῖον ποῦ and πότε are obvious. In the category of relation a predicate only becomes precise when the question τίνος διπλάσιον, δοῦλος, τίνι ὁμοιον is answered. The category of substance is frequently denominated τὸ τί.¹ This has no connexion with the τί ἐστίν of definition (itself another example of the derivation of technical terms from questions), for that requires a universal as subject.² It is to be correlated with the common question, ‘what is Socrates?’ as distinguished from such questions as ‘what is he like?’ ‘how tall is he?’ As the names are derived from specific forms of question the inference is irresistible that the scheme originated in dialectical practice. We may compare the change in the technical meaning of πρότασις, which is the name for a dialectical question in the *Topics* and becomes the name of a logical proposition in the *Prior Analytics*.³

If the scheme of the Categories had the origin suggested in this paper, we can see that it had no immediate connexion with the Platonic μέγιστα γένη of ταῦτὸν ἔτερον, στάσις κίνησις. These distinctions cover the whole field of existence and knowledge. Sameness and difference are the fundamental features of things regarded from the standpoint of knowledge; they are worked out in classification; but they cannot be Categories, because these are in the last resort a detailed account of the differences to be recognized within an empirical subject, so that the distinction of sameness and difference is a condition of the scheme as a whole. Rest and motion are factors of the universe on the side of reality: from the standpoint of the Categories they imply successive predications of states and positions of the subject.

Moreover, they have nothing to do with the metaphysical question of the

¹ See the table in Apelt, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² So Maier, as against Apelt, *op. cit.*, II. 309 n.

³ *Top.* I. 10, 104 a 8: ἔστι δὲ πρότασις διαλεκ-

τικὴ ἐρώτησις ἔνδοξος. *An. Pr.* I. 1, 24 a 16: πρότασις ἐστὶ λόγος καταφατικός ἢ ἀποφατικός τινὸς κατὰ τινος.

ultimate nature of the universal, though they fully recognize its logical validity. In fact some of Plato's characteristic arguments to prove that the universal is distinct from the particular imply some of the essential features of the analysis worked out in the system of the *Categories*. For the primary distinction between the *τινὰ καλὰ* and *τὸ καλὸν* is that the former are *καλὰ πράγματα*, which as *πράγματα* have natures (*οὐσίαι*) of their own as faces, men, actions, etc., but partake in the *κάλλος* which is empirically realized only as an aspect of them.

As may be seen, my case proceeds from the assumption that no explanation of the origin of the *Categories* is satisfactory unless it accounts for the inclusion of *κείσθαι* and *ἔχειν* in the full list, combined with the total absence of reference to them as *Categories* in any other passage. Hence the only direct evidence that we have for their meaning is the examples given of them in the *Categories*. In both cases the examples seem to imply highly specialized predicates. *Κείσθαι* is applicable only to complex animal bodies, with mobile limbs controlled by voluntary effort: *ἔχειν* is applied only to the highest type of animal, having intelligence to make and use clothes and tools for the convenience of life. No other *Category* is so specialized: the other two dealing with behaviour, viz: action and passion, can be generalized, though of course they take special forms in mankind. Hence it is intelligible that when the *Categories* are mentioned, those applicable only to certain limited classes of subjects should be omitted. Assume that these two *Categories* are specialized in the sense indicated: bear in mind that the usual subject in illustration is the individual man: observe that the complete list of the *Categories* with the examples given aims at supplying an exhaustive classification of the manifold aspects of man as a concrete going concern: then the conclusion seems natural that the scheme in its original intention was built up round the idea of the individual man. It is no objection to this reading of the scheme that Aristotle treats the list as exhaustive, so that we must find a universal meaning for every *Category*: if the *Categories* of Aristotle were the Kantian categories, then each must be applicable to any object whatever: but the Platonic-Aristotelian world is divided into things of an ascending order of completeness, and some kinds of predicates can only be attached to the higher orders of existence. I do not claim that these two *Categories* were confined entirely to predicates of the types given in the examples of the list in the *Categories*; for in the detailed analysis of, e.g., Relation and Quality, many varieties are dealt with which do not appear in the corresponding accounts in the list. That these two *Categories* also were generalized so as to apply to other objects than human beings I do not doubt; what I argue is that their fundamental ideas were such that in a general survey of the modifications of things they had little importance, and so fell into the background.

If my general conclusion is established, that *Category* and *Predicable* together constitute a joint system of preparing the material for formal dialectical discussion, that this system grew up in the Platonic school as the representative of Socratic methodology and was completed by Aristotle, that systematized dialectical rules were the forerunner of the Aristotelian logic—if this is a correct reading of the historical evidence, it follows that *Category* and *Predicable* together may be expected to form the substructure of the logic of Aristotle, especially the scientific logic. Or, to express the same meaning in another metaphor, that in the Aristotelian system the raw material of experience should be given a form through the ideas of *predicable* and *category* as a preliminary to the building of the larger structures of scientific knowledge, just as the clay must be made into bricks before it can be used by the builder. At some later opportunity I hope to show that the most characteristic features of Aristotle's logic of science can be accounted for on these lines.

C. M. GILLESPIE.

THE RELATION OF *AENEID* III. TO THE REST OF THE POEM.

FROM the time when Friedrich Conrads published¹ the first systematic study of the method of composition employed by Vergil in the *Aeneid*² it has been recognized that Bk. III. is especially involved in the contradictions existing between the various parts of the poem. It is not my purpose in this paper to attempt an exhaustive study of this aspect of Bk. III.; the industry of classical scholars in the last half-century renders needless further repetition of this sort.³ I wish merely to present a few suggestions which may help to reconcile the passages generally regarded as hopelessly contradictory.

Most obvious of all is the contradiction between the two views in the poem concerning the knowledge which the Trojans have of their ultimate goal. In Bk. III. they set sail in the spring, almost a year after the destruction of Troy,⁴ uncertain of their destination (III. 7). The goal is revealed to them only gradually, in a series of prophecies, whose steady, progressive unfolding gives unity and dramatic climax to the book. But this effective and artistic plan of composition appears quite spoiled by the fact that only a few lines before the beginning of Bk. III. the shade of Creusa, on the night of the fall of Troy, says (II. 780-782) to Aeneas:

longa tibi exilia, et uastum maris aequor arandum,
et terram Hesperiam uenies, ubi Lydius arua
inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris:

Can the resulting contradiction be explained? If not, Vergil must have intended either to excise Creusa's words⁵ or to make fundamental changes in the plan of Bk. III.; for it is hardly credible that Aeneas utterly forgot the words of his wife.

I believe that a natural solution lies in the fact that Creusa's description of the goal conveyed no definite information to Aeneas. *Hesperia* was only a 'western land'⁶ to him and, in such a connexion, *Lydius Thybris* must have greatly perplexed him. At the time of the Trojan War the phrase is an anachronism, and it could hardly have meant anything but 'Trojan Tiber'⁷ to Aeneas. The description of such

¹ *Quaestiones Vergilianae*, Program des Gymnasiums in Trier, 1863.

² From the *Vita Vergilii Donatiana* (Brunner, Leipzig, 1912), ll. 83-89 (= Suetonius, *Vita Vergili*, 23-24), we learn that the poem was first sketched out in prose, and that Vergil worked on the various parts as he liked, not taking them in order.

³ Besides the early work of Conrads and of Ribbeck (*Prolegomena*, Ch. VI., Leipzig, 1866), a few of the later discussions are: Schüler, C., *Quaestiones Vergilianae*, Diss. Greifswald, 1883; Noack, F., *Die erste Aeneis*, *Hermes*, 27 (1892), pp. 407-445; Kroll, W., *Studien über die Composition der Aeneis*, *Jahrb. für kl. Philol.*, Supplement b. 27 (1902), pp. 135-169; Karsten, H. T., *De Aeneidis Libro III.*, *Hermes*, 39 (1904), pp. 259-290; Gercke, A., *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, Berlin, 1913; Crump, M. M., *The Growth of the Aeneid*,

Oxford, 1920. I have not been able to consult the work of Sabbadini in this field. The epoch-making work of Conrads has not been accessible, but its substance seems to have been given in the work of his successors.

⁴ That Troy fell a little before the summer solstice is the common tradition (Dion. Hal. I. 63; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19).

⁵ Since this effective episode was, apparently, original with Vergil (Gercke, p. 37), it seems unlikely that he would have sacrificed it.

⁶ Cf. E. A. Hahn, *On an Alleged Inconsistency in the Aeneid*, *Class. Weekly*, XIII., pp. 210-212.

⁷ The similarity between the name of the Italian *Thybris* and that of *Thymbris* in the Troad has already been pointed out by Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 777-778.

a river as 'flowing through the fields of a western land' did not at all enlighten the distracted husband.

The situation is further complicated when, in taking leave of Helenus at Buthrotum, Aeneas, congratulating his host on having found a permanent abode and on having established a new Troy there, adds (III. 500-505) that he will build such a city in Hesperia and ally it with this city in Epirus, if ever he reaches the Tiber and its adjoining fields (*Si quando Thybrim uicinaque Thybridis arua intraro*). Now Hesperia has already been mentioned in Bk. III. (163-166), but the Tiber has not; as the poem stands, Aeneas' reference to the Tiber here (III. 500) seems clearly an echo of Creusa's words in Bk. II. 781-782. That is, Aeneas had not forgotten Creusa's obscure prophecy, but it has meanwhile been interpreted for him by that dream in which the *Penates* plainly told him that *Hesperia* was *Italia*, the home of the founder of the *Trojan* race. From that time on, Creusa's *Lydius* (*Trojan*) *Thybris* in *Hesperia* has significance for Aeneas;¹ hence, his quite casual reference to the river in Bk. III. 500.²

With the progressive character of the revelation of the goal in Bk. III. there is only one other important conflict—³ viz., in Bk. IV. 345-346—where Aeneas, emphasizing to Dido the fact that he must press on to Italy, says that if the fates had left him free in the matter, he would already have rebuilt Troy, but *Grynean* Apollo and the *Lycian* lots have bidden him seek Italy (IV. 345-346).

A literal (and, I think, a reasonable) interpretation of these lines requires us to assume that before leaving Asia Minor the Trojans had consulted Apollo's oracle at Gryneia and at Patara and had been directed to a goal in the west. Realizing the apparent conflict between such an interpretation and the entire plan of Bk. III., Servius explains⁴ *Grynaeus* and *Lyciae* as examples of the conventional epithet; but one is loath to accept without further search so dubious a solution of the difficulty.

Now, at the beginning of Bk. III. (1-8) we learn that in the period intervening between the fall of Troy and the departure from Asia Minor the following spring, the Trojans did receive divine direction:⁵

diuersa exilia et desertas quaerere terras
auguriis agimur diuum, classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae.

Nevertheless, they set sail ignorant of their destination (*incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur*, III. 7). The gods would seem, then, to have given the Trojans no new

¹ Since writing this I have come upon a brief note by Noack, *Hermes*, 27 (1892), p. 408, n. 1, in which he seems to approve of this interpretation.

² In Bk. V. 83, Aeneas himself applies to the river the epithet 'Ausonian.' Now, Ausonia has been mentioned to Aeneas or by him seven times before this in the poem (III. 170-171, 378, 385, 477, 479, 496; IV. 349). Aeneas understands it to be a name for Italy, and Helenus has explained that the Trojans are not to go to South Italy, but to the Italy beyond Sicily (III. 396-440); in lines 477-479 (III.) he calls the goal the remote part of Ausonia. Hence, Aeneas' reference to 'the ever-retreating fields of Ausonia' (III. 496-497), and the vagueness of his reference to Ausonian Thybris *quicumque est* (V. 83).

³ In Bk. I. Latium is spoken of as the goal by Aeneas (205) and by Ilioneus (554), though neither is represented as having heard the name in Bks. II. and III. It is, however, difficult to

believe that they have not heard it in all the time which has elapsed since they learned that Italy was their goal; particularly would they have been likely to hear it in some of the unrecorded discussions of their plans at Buthrotum. Moreover, the poet has himself been using Latium as the name of the goal (I. 6, 31), and Jupiter so uses it in ver. 265, so that it would have been very natural to let Aeneas and Ilioneus use it. At this advanced stage of the wanderings, the 'inconsistency' seems to me of trifling account.

⁴ After locating the *nemus Gryneum*, Servius adds (ad ver. 345): 'Inde ergo nunc epitheton dedit, licet in Delo acceperit oraculum.' On ver. 346 he writes: 'LYCIAE SORTES nec hinc accipit responsum, sed sic dixit "Lyciae," ac si diceret Apollineae.'

⁵ Dion. Hal. says (I. 55) that it was the Erythraean Sibyl who told the Trojans to sail towards the setting sun until they came to a land where they would eat their tables.

information here; they probably indicated a journey *by sea* to a *western* land, as the vision of Hector (II. 289-295) and the shade of Creusa (III. 780-782) had already done on the night of the fall of Troy; for this is what the Trojans actually attempted at the beginning of Bk. III., in spite of their uncertainty as to the exact goal.

I would suggest that in Bk. IV., after *Hesperia* has been interpreted to Aeneas—(1) as *Italia* (by the vision in Crete, III. 163-166) and (2) as *Italia* beyond Sicily (by Apollo's priest at Buthrotum, III. 396-440)—it would be natural for Aeneas to say to Dido 'the gods have bidden me seek *Italy*.' The vague term, *Hesperia*, which Creusa had used, and which the oracles in Asia Minor may well have used, would have meant to Dido in her western home a land still farther west, as Spain. In talking to her Aeneas simply uses the term (*Italia*) which she will understand to convey the meaning of Apollo, though Apollo had chosen to reveal that meaning to the Trojans themselves gradually in the course of their wanderings.

As for the identification of some of the *auguria* mentioned in Bk. III. 5 with those of Apollo at Gryneia and at Patara in Lycia, the nearness of Gryneia makes such a consultation possible enough; and it may be more than an interesting coincidence that a winter is included in the period of preparation for the voyage, and that it was in the winter that the oracle at Patara gave responses.¹

A second inconsistency between Bk. III. and other parts of the poem is often found in the fact that from certain passages in Bk. I. and Bk. II. one expects Venus to be the guide of the wandering Trojans, but that in Bk. III. it is Apollo who constantly directs them.

This impression of Venus as guide seems to have come mainly from the passage in Bk. I., where Aeneas, not recognizing his mother in the guise of a huntress, explains to her who he is and how he happens to be on the Libyan coast, adding (381-382):

bis denis Phrygium conscendi nauibus aequor,
matre dea monstrante uiam data fata secutus.

In his comment on the phrase 'matre dea monstrante uiam', Servius says: 'hoc loco per transitum tangit historiam, quam per legem artis poeticae aperte non potest ponere, nam Varro in secundo diuinarum dicit *ex quo de Troia est egressus Aeneas, Veneris eum per diem cotidie stellam uidisse, donec ad agrum Laurentem ueniret, in quo eam non uidit ulterius; qua re terras cognouit esse fatales*: unde Vergilius hoc loco "matre dea monstrante uiam" et "eripe, nate, fugam" (II. 619), item "nusquam abero" (II. 620) et "descendo ac ducente deo" (II. 632) et "iamque iugis summae surgebat lucifer Idae" (II. 801) quam stellam Veneris esse ipse Vergilius ostendit "qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda, quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes."

Now, when the Trojans set out at the beginning of Bk. III. there is no mention of any such guidance from Venus. Save for a single reference to her as the wife of Anchises (475), she is mentioned only once² in this book—viz., in verse 19, where she receives sacrifices along with the *diuis auspiciibus coeptorum operum* and with Jupiter.

The Varronian tradition of Venus' leadership was doubtless known to Vergil and probably led him to write *matre dea monstrante uiam*; but, even when Bk. III. is left out of the reckoning, the function of 'leading' the Trojans belongs by no means

¹ Servius ad libr. IV. 143: 'HIBERNAM LYCIAM . . . : nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae ciuitatem, dare responsa: unde Patareus Apollo.'

Heinze, *Vergils Epische Technik* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 84, calls attention to the fact that Apollo, especially his Delphic oracle, played an important rôle in the sending out of colonies.

Schüler, *Quaestiones Vergilianae*, p. 10, n. 1,

offers another explanation of 'Lycian': 'Atque Lycios hoc loco esse Lycios Homeri et Lyciis quoque sortibus oraculum Apollinis Troiani non Patarei significari persuasit mihi Wilamowitzius.'

² This is a marked departure from the tradition handed down by Dion. Hal. (I. 49-53), who speaks of many temples to Venus being founded in the course of the wanderings.

exclusively to Venus. Besides the instances in Bk. II. which Servius cites in the passage quoted above (ad libr. I. 382) there are few clear cases¹ of her 'guidance': (1) Bk. I. 330-400, where, in the guise of a huntress, she explains to Aeneas who the inhabitants of the African coast are, and bids (389) Aeneas go to Dido's city; (2) Bk. VI. 190-204, where his mother's birds guide Aeneas to the golden bough; (3) Bk. XII. 554-556, where Venus inspires Aeneas with a special plan in battle. But, in general, the goddess intercedes for her son (I. 229-254; V. 779-798), and tries to provide for his safety or that of Ascanius (I. 664 sqq.; VIII. 370 sqq.); especially 520-536 and 608-613; X. 17 sqq., 132, 608-609; XII. 411-425; her function is maternal and protecting.²

On the other hand, Apollo is precisely the proper guide for the Trojans in Bk. III.; not only is he particularly associated with the sending out of Colonies,³ but he is the great *augur Apollo*, whose revelations of the future are required by the underlying *motif* of this book. Neither does his guidance unaccountably cease with Bk. III.: it is his propheticess who leads and instructs Aeneas in the Nekyia; and in Bk. VI. (56-60) and Bk. VII. (240-241) the poet shows that the idea of Apollo's leadership in the wanderings is one which he does not intend to disavow. Furthermore, Venus and Apollo are not the only guides of Aeneas; the needed revelation comes now, through a dream, from the dead Hector (II. 289-295) or the dead Anchises (V. 730-737) or *deus Tiberinus* (VIII. 36-65), now from the shade of Creusa (II. 776-789) or the shade of Anchises in the lower world (VI. 888-892).

A third inconsistency between Bk. III. and the other books exists for those readers who feel that from Bk. III. one would not infer that the wrath of Juno is the important *motif* which it clearly is in the rest of the poem. In reply I would point out that the action of Bk. III. is earlier than that of any other book, save the second; that Juno's wrath is, to be sure, mentioned in Bk. II. (612), but that in the work of destroying Troy she is not alone—Neptune, Pallas, and Jupiter seem no less prominent (610-618); finally, that it is more effective not to make much use of this *motif* early in the action, but to reserve it⁴ for the time when the Trojans are approaching their goal, when they have reason to hope that their troubles are nearly past. That Juno is, however, going to be a troublesome influence is plainly foreshadowed in Bk. III., (1) when Helenus says (379-380) he can prophesy only part of the future of the Trojans because the *Parcae* prevent his knowing the rest and Saturnian Juno forbids him to speak, and (2), especially, when in the same prophecy Helenus says (433-440), 'one thing before all others he will tell Aeneas, and repeat his warning again and again—viz., that Aeneas is, first of all, to entreat the divinity of Juno with prayers, pay her vows, and overcome her with suppliant gifts; on this condition will he finally leave Sicily and be sent to the Italian territories'; (3) when the Trojans stop at *Castrum Minervae* to pray to Minerva, whose temple is on the heights, and 'remembering the precepts of Helenus which he had emphasized particularly,' sacrifice to Argive Juno (543-547).

A fourth class of inconsistencies arises from the different accounts of two portents (the *mensae adesae* and the white sow with her thirty young) and of the prophecy regarding the information which Aeneas is to receive from the Sibyl.

¹ In the first and last cases, the Carthaginian episode and the final battle, Venus is the foil of Juno, who defends her favourite, Dido (in person), and Turnus (through Juturna); in the second case the rôle of Venus is slight and indirect, as compared with that of Apollo's propheticess.

² Note especially the *mater* of VIII. 370 and the *Veneris iustissima cura* of X. 123. The cry of

Venus in I. 407-408 does not necessarily imply Venus' frequent *guidance* of her son.

³ See footnote 1, p. 87.

⁴ Heinze points out (*l.c.* pp. 94-96) that at first the wrath of Poseidon seems the chief cause of the wanderings of Odysseus, but that, as the story advances, it is even less prominent than is the wrath of Juno in the *Aeneid*.

(1) In Bk. III. 247-266, the eating of the tables is foretold by the Harpy-Fury, Celaeno. The prophecy is addressed, not simply to Aeneas, but to the Trojans in general (248, 259). Anchises seems to have been present; in any case, he soon knew of the prophecy (263-266). Celaeno's authorship is confirmed by a later reference to the matter in lines 365-367 (cf. 713). Now, when the prophecy is actually fulfilled at the mouth of the Tiber, Aeneas recognizes the fact, and tells the Trojans that they have reached their home, adding (VII. 122-127):

genitor mihi talia namque
(nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit;
'cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora uectum
accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas,
tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta.'

Aeneas orders a libation to Jupiter and Anchises, and Servius comments (ad vs. 134): 'ANCHISEN GENITOREM bene Iouem et Anchisen, qui causa oraculi fuerunt'—apparently with no memory of the Harpy. But need the words *Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit* mean that Anchises was the *author* of the prophecy? In Bk. III. his position seems to be that of 'honorary leader' of the expedition; he interprets¹ the dark sayings which characterize this book. It is significant, then, that Anchises is especially mentioned in the account of the reception of the prophecy of Celaeno (259-266). Perhaps he was discouraged by his previous lack of success, for he does not offer any interpretation of the *mensae adesae*; ² he begs the gods to ward off such a calamity and protect the faithful (265-266). Therefore, Aeneas, recognizing the fulfilment of the prophecy in Bk. VII., exclaims: 'Here is our home, this is our country; for such was the *mystery of the fates bequeathed to me by my father*—now I recall it: "When, my son, in the course of your voyage to unknown shores, hunger shall compel you to eat up the feast and consume your tables, then in your weariness remember to hope for an abode there. . . . This was that famous hunger (foretold by Celaeno and never understood until now)!"' Anchises had not been able to offer any solution of the strange prophecy; he had merely bidden Aeneas keep it in mind and watch for its fulfilment.

(2) The portent of the white sow has always troubled commentators, because they have expected Aeneas' settlement to be Lavinium, some miles from the Tiber, whereas the appearance of the sow fixes the site on the bank of the Tiber (VIII. 42, 83; cf. III. 389). Much light has been thrown on this difficulty by the interesting work of Carcopino, who has shown³ that Vergil placed Aeneas' *first* settlement (New Troy) on the Tiber (IX. 815-816) and close to the sea (IX. 238), near the future site of Roman Ostia. In the poem the founding of Lavinium seems to be the ultimate purpose of Aeneas' wanderings (I. 258-259; XII. 193-194); the fact that this is not accomplished in the epic surprises us, but the poet has chosen a more dramatic climax in the defeat and death of Turnus. It goes without saying that after his conquest Aeneas will be ready to devote himself to the works of peace.⁴

¹ At Delos he declares the 'ancient mother' must be Crete (III. 103-117); in Crete, because of the pestilence, he advises returning to Delos (143-146): when the *Penates* finally explain that Italy is the mother of the Trojan race, it is to Anchises again that Aeneas submits their revelation (179-188).

² This is indicated by Aeneas' anxious remark to Helenus (III. 365-368), and, particularly, by Helenus' reply (394-395).

³ *Vergile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), Livre III., pp. 391-557.

⁴ Carcopino's interesting argument for Lavinium as the city of Latinus, and for Aeneas' founding of Lavinium as a mere reconsecration of the existing city (*l.c.* Livre II., pp. 171-387), need not concern us here. It is the site of New Troy (not of Lavinium or of Alba Longa) which is indicated by the portent of the sow.

(3) The prophecy concerning the information which Aeneas is to receive from the Sibyl is made by Helenus in the following lines (458-460) of Bk. III.:

illa (the Sibyl) tibi Italiae populos uenturaque bella,
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
expediat, cursusque dabit uenerata secundos.

Before the time for the fulfilment of this prophecy in Bk. VI. Anchises appears to Aeneas in a dream and tells him to go into Italy with his men, adding (V. 730-737):

gens dura atque aspera cultu
debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
infernās accede domos et Auerna per alta
congressus pete, nate, meos.
. huc casta Sibylla
ignarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.

Anchises here implies that the function of the Sibyl will be that of guide; that the knowledge of Aeneas' posterity and of his settlements will come from his father. Furthermore, when the time for the fulfilment of the first prophecy comes, the Sibyl does not, according to the commentators, tell what we have been assured (III. 458-460) she will tell, but it is from Anchises that the promised information comes (VI. 890-892). Such a position has some support in the fact that these lines from Book VI. (890-892) are obviously an echo of those in Book III. (458-460); but, on closer examination, the Sibyl's words contain more than the critics are disposed to grant.

In the first place, she does describe the character of the *bella uentura* (VI. 86 sqq.); in lines 95-97 she tells how Aeneas may escape from or bear these trials; to the *Italiae populos* she has time to make only brief reference in the mention of another Achilles (89), of the *gentes Italum* and the cities in line 92; duly entreated, she does give him *cursus secundos* in the lower world. The fact that some phases of the expected information are only briefly indicated is accounted for by the impatience of Aeneas, who tells the Sibyl that he cares about nothing but getting to his father (103-109). In the second place, the word *expediat* (III. 460) does not require all the information to be given by the Sibyl in person; it is enough if she puts Aeneas in the way of receiving it by conducting him to his father.

The last important contradiction in which Book III. is involved has to do with the chronology of the Trojan wanderings. When Dido asks Aeneas to relate the snares of the Greeks and the sufferings of the Trojans, she adds (I. 755-756):

nam te iam septima portat
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.

However, when we read the story of the wanderings in Book III., we find the time-element very vaguely indicated, and it is quite possible to provide for all the events in three or four years. Finally, when Iris, in the form of an aged Trojan woman, incites her companions to set fire to the Trojan ships, she says (V. 626-629):

septima post Troiae excidium iam uertitur aestas,
cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem et uoluimur undis.

Servius (ad V. 626) regards as insoluble the difficulty presented by these two occurrences of *septima aestas* (I. 755; V. 626) and adds that Vergil would have

removed the inconsistency. Nearly a century and a half ago Heyne¹ made a suggestion which is still accepted by many scholars—viz., that Anchises died in Sicily at the end of the sixth summer after the fall of Troy; that Aeneas went to Carthage early the next summer² and remained with Dido until late that summer, when he returned to Sicily and held the anniversary funeral-games, *still in the 'aestas septima.'* It must, however, be admitted that a natural interpretation of verses 193 and 309-10 (IV.) implies more than the mere prospect of approaching winter³ at Carthage. In the same *Excursus*⁴ Heyne also presents a scheme for the chronology of Book III., by which the events are made to fill seven years; but the plan is a counsel of despair in at least one point, when Heyne admits that he is assigning two years to the Cretan sojourn because only in this way can the entire period be filled out!

I think we must admit that the chronological difficulties affecting Book III. are not all capable of satisfactory solution as the poem stands, but the mere omission of the last sentence in Book I. or the rewriting of verse 626 in Book V. would remove the striking inconsistencies. Furthermore, the fact that the events of Book III. seem perhaps to occupy a comparatively small number of years does not necessarily so limit them. Aeneas was relating a long story, at a banquet, late at night (II. 8-9); therefore, he would select his episodes, linger over some of them, pass more rapidly over others, and concern himself very little with chronology.

In her recent book, *The Growth of the Aeneid*, Miss Crump has emphasized the inferior literary quality of Book III. as compared with the other books, but the blemishes which she adduces⁵ are trifling when contrasted with the undoubted merits of the book. From a great mass of tradition Vergil made an interesting story which was particularly well unified by an original *motif*—the *motif* of the progressive revelation of the Trojan goal. For the general idea of the wanderings he was probably indebted to the Odyssey, but 'the only place where the lines of adventure actually touch' is, as Conington points out,⁶ in the land of the Cyclops. To Vergil's own invention, apparently, we owe such episodes as Aeneas' grisly experience at the tomb of Polydorus, his dramatic encounter with Celaeno, and the pathetic meeting with Andromache, which is certainly not lacking in high poetic quality. In the years which the scrupulous artist planned to devote to perfecting his work, Book III. would undoubtedly have become a more finished poem; but that the book is so inconsistent with, or so inferior to, the rest of the *Aeneid* that Vergil would only have been satisfied with completely rewriting it seems to me an exaggerated view, not at all borne out by a consideration of the evidence.

CATHARINE SAUNDERS.

VASSAR COLLEGE,
U.S.A.

¹ *P. Vergilius Maro*, Leipzig, 1786, ed. tertia, *Excursus* II. on *Aen.* III., p. 578, n.

² June is probably indicated by *Aen.* I. 535.

³ *Hiemps*, in Bk. IV. 52, is, as Servius says, obviously equivalent to *tempestas*, but much less certain is Heyne's suggestion that in I. 309

we have a reference to the *etesiae* of July and August.

⁴ Pp. 573-580.

⁵ Pp. 29-30.

⁶ Int. to *Aen.* III.

‘EVIL COMMUNICATIONS.’

MR. P. H. LING’s suggestion¹ that the famous line *φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρησθ’ ὁμιλίας κακαί* stood at the beginning of a play of Euripides seems to me to lack anything like cogent proof. A gnomic verse of this sort—to take the characteristics of the line in the order given by Mr. Ling—*may* indeed begin a play, as in the fragment of the *Stheneboia* (Nauck², 661) which he quotes; but it may also begin a speech, as *Hec.* 864; or come early in a speech, cf. *Heracle.* 2; or alone in stichomythia, as *Alc.* 540; or late in a speech, as *Med.* 561; or at the end of one, as *Supp.* 510. In other words, there is no position which it may not have. As to its lack of ‘any particle or conjunction to connect it with what preceded or followed,’ how does Mr. Ling prove that it was not preceded by *γινώσκων ὅτι*, cf. *Med.* 560; or that the previous line did not end in *γάρ*, like *Hec.* 551, *Supp.* 361; or that this line is not the end of a longer sentence, like *Alc.* 802, whose subordinate clauses have been lost? E.g.:

ὥς τοῖς βροτοῖσι, καὶ τίς ἐστι μὴ ἀμαθής,
φθείρουσιν κτε.,

or anyone of a score of other possible contexts. The lack of a proper name is regular, though not invariable, in gnomes.

The resemblance to Aeschylus is real (though the sentiment is at least as old as Theognis, I. 35); but why should such an echo—a two-word tag, not even in the same case—at once set the audience thinking of Amphiaraios and his house? Such allusions belong to the technique of Alexandrian poetry, not to the broader effects of drama. Or does Mr. Ling think that *λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας* (Soph. *El.* 17), with its echo of *λ. ἡ. φάος* (Aesch. *Agam.* 658), hints that the house of Atreus is passing through another storm, or that the *γινώσκων ὅτι* of *Med.* 560, with its reminiscence of *P.V.* 104, makes out some connexion between Jason and Prometheus? When a dramatist wishes to apply the wise saws of another writer he sets them in a far clearer light than this, as:

Λόγος μὲν ἐστ’ ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς,
ὥς οὐκ ἂν αἰῶν’ ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν κτε.

(*Trach.* 1; Sophokles quoting Solon or Herodotos.)

‘Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
“Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?”’

(*A.Y.L.* III. 5; Shakespeare quoting Marlowe.)

As to St. Paul’s source, it may well have been an anthology. Mr. Ling, however, is unfortunate in his criticism of the Pauline quotations. Of the three he gives, one, Epimenides in *Tit.* I. 12, occurs in a work whose genuineness is very doubtful; another, Aratos or Kleantes in *Act.* XVII. 28, is in a context which certainly owes its form to the author of *Acts*, whatever may be thought of the substance.² This leaves us with the one line from which the discussion started, to which should be added two other citations from unknown authors—viz. *Phil.* III. 1,³

¹ C.Q. XIX., pp. 22 sqq.

² See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, for a full dis-

cussion.

³ See Moffatt, *Literature of the N.T.*, p. 89.

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀσφαλές—a comic trimeter, however little interest the Apostle may have taken in Menander—and *Rom.* I. 29-30, where the rhythm is so hopelessly bad from the standpoint of Pauline or other good Asianic prose that I feel certain he is quoting, and nearly certain that he is loosely citing a satirical passage written in trochaic tetrameters.¹ If it could be proved that all these citations came from near the beginning of a book, the same is true of many quotations in professed philologers, and is easily explained by the fact that no one on the look-out for an illustrative passage would be likely to unroll more than he needed of a βιβλίον.

The circumstance that most MSS. write *χρηστὰ* and not *χρήσθ'* is without significance. Four lines of Timotheos, *Persae*, viz. 74, 84, 86, and 91, give five examples of the same sort of thing—ἐχέιτο, δέ, αὐχένα, σε, and τε for ἐχέιτ', etc.; *Phil.*, *l.c.*, where the MS. seem to have δέ, may furnish yet another instance. In general, the MSS. of the *N.T.* do not mark elision.² St. Paul was a good Grecian, well-trained in rhetoric, and knew the difference between prose and verse perfectly well.

H. J. ROSE.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES,
ABERYSTWYTH.

¹ Cf. *J. Th. Stud.* XXV., p. 43.

II., p. 63, where a wrong conclusion is drawn from correct facts.

² Cf. Moulton-Howard, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*,

OVID, *METAMORPHOSES* VII. 268.

Addit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas.

IN his critical note to this line Magnus states that all MSS. read either *de nocte* or *sub nocte*. Heinsius conjectured *pernocte*, and afterwards found this actually read in what was presumably a Renaissance MS., with the gloss 'pernox pernoctis' added. Now in the *Ab Absens* glossary (printed by Goetz in *C.G.L.* IV., pp. 404-427), on which I have recently been working for Professor Lindsay, occurs the gloss (*L.* 46),

Luna pernocte : quae lucet tota nocte,

and it is probable that the emendation in Heinsius' MS. owes its being to this. Among the sources of *Ab Absens* the *Abstrusa* glossary must certainly be included; and this glossary, as we have learnt from Professor Thomson, is based on Virgil scholia. It is then possible that a scholium (of Donatus?) on *Geo.* 3. 230 quoted this line of Ovid, where all that Servius *auctus* offers is 'Pernix . . . legunt et pernox,' etc. This seems to me a more probable route than that offered by the supposition that *Ab Absens* contains material taken directly from a glossed MS. of Ovid, a view for which the glossary gives little if any support.

R. G. AUSTIN.

GLASGOW.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EUSEBIUS.

REPLY.

MR. NORMAN H. BAYNES thinks that the conclusions which I reached in my essay on the 'Chronology of the Ninth Book of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius' are 'difficult to believe.' That is due, he says, to the fact that I based my reconstruction 'on one of the most doubtful sections of that book'—that in which Eusebius states that the Emperor Maximin wrote his letter to Sabinus after he received the 'Edict of Milan.' From it I inferred that the letter was dispatched early in 313. No doubt Eusebius' assertion raises difficulties. But when a contemporary witness of high authority speaks it may be wise not to reject his evidence before the difficulties which seem to overthrow it are scrutinized. In the present instance the difficulties seem to me to vanish on examination. But Mr. Baynes appears to have overlooked my attempt to deal with them. His own view of the date of the letter is expressed in a single sentence 'In November of 312 Maximin would receive news of Constantine's victory [at the Milvian Bridge], and as a result he issues the letter to Sabinus permitting Christian worship late in 312.' But where is his evidence? All I can find is that in his edict of toleration Maximin affirms that 'last year' he wrote the letter. 'This passage proves that that letter dates from the year 312.' Yes, if Maximin's year began in January. But is that certain? In the East, New Year's Day was not uncommonly in September.

Mr. Baynes agrees with me in supposing that the period of peace ended in October-November. But he goes further. He will have it that the persecution reached a violent stage a few weeks later, six months before the rescript to the cities. This seems highly improbable. Yet, 'if we may trust the Syriac *Martyrology*, Peter Bishop of Alexandria was martyred' on 24 November, 311—not at Nicomedia, but in far-away Egypt! But the *Martyrology* does not give the year. So we have a footnote of explanation: 'If the month is right the martyrdom must be in 311 (not 312, as Professor Lawlor, p. 268), for it is dated to the ninth year of the persecution (*HE.* VIII. 32. 31) = *ca.* Easter 311 — *ca.* Easter 312.' My reply is that it cannot be in 311, for 312 *is* the ninth year. Mr. Baynes apparently did not read the essay in my *Eusebiana* which immediately precedes the one which he criticizes. In it I tried to prove that Eusebius' persecution years began *ca.* January 1, and ended *ca.* December 31, the first year ending at the close of 304. I cannot summarize my argument here. But if the persecution years ran from Easter to Easter, the first year ending at Easter 304, it is 'difficult to accept' some statements of Eusebius. For example: the abdication of the Emperors (1 May, 305) is placed by him in the second year (*HE.* VIII. 13. 10 f.; *MP.* 3. 5; *Chron.*, Fotheringham, p. 310); the proclamation of Constantine as Emperor (July, 306) in the third (*Chron.* l.c.); and the toleration edict of Galerius (30 April, 311) in the eighth (*HE.* VIII. 16. 1; cp. *MP.* 13. 11).

I confess an error in my essay on the ninth book. I pointed out that IX. 7. 10 indicates the time of year at which the rescript to the cities was drawn up; and I suggested that the passage pointed to the month of August. Further investigation has led me to believe that I should have said May. I have, therefore, no quarrel with Mr. Baynes' '*ca.* June.' But his inference therefrom is another matter. 'The edict of toleration was itself penned "not a whole year" after the rescript of *ca.* June, 312:

it was doubtless issued in May, 313.' But what Eusebius says (*HE. IX. 10. 12*) is: 'These are the words of the tyrant that came not a whole year after the ordinances against the Christians *were set up by him on tablets*.' The earliest inscriptions must have been later than the composition of the rescript. And Eusebius evidently believed that in some places they were not set up till September or October (*IX. 7. 16; 8. 1*).

H. J. LAWLOR.

REJOINDER.

I SEE no reason to suppose that Maximin dated the beginning of the year from September. Dr. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 221, refers to Professor Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, I. 188, in support of his view. Professor Turner writes: 'No doubt the Roman year began on January 1; but Eusebius was an Eastern and not a Roman, and in the East the year almost universally commenced about September.' But in the present case it is not the practice of Eusebius, but of a Roman Emperor, which is in question, and the citation only reinforces the argument of my paper.

I cannot accept Dr. Lawlor's translation of *H.E. IX. 10. 12*. The words of Eusebius are: αὐταὶ τοῦ τυράννου φωναί, οὐδ' ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθειμένων αὐτῷ διαταγμάτων ὑστερήσαι, κ.τ.λ.—i.e. the διατάγματα are qualified by a clause of definition referring the reader back to *H.E. IX. 7. 1*: ἀνὰ μέσας γέ τοι τὰς πόλεις, ὃ μὴδὲ ἄλλοτέ ποτε, ψηφίσματα πόλεων καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν πρὸς ταῦτα διατάξεων ἀντιγραφὰὶ στήλαις ἐντετυπωμένα χαλκαῖς ἀνωρθοῦντο, κ.τ.λ., with which cf. *IX. 7. 15*: ταῦτα δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πάσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνεσθηλίτευστο, κ.τ.λ. The words will not bear the interpretation put upon them by Dr. Lawlor. Whether the highly rhetorical passage *H.E. IX. 7. 16-8. 1* can be pressed as far as Dr. Lawlor would press it is immaterial for my argument: the interval between the issue of a rescript by an emperor and its publication by a provincial governor is at times of astonishing length—in one instance eleven months intervene between the two dates (cf. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, pp. 9-10).

Before writing my paper I had carefully considered and rejected Dr. Lawlor's view of the chronology of the 'persecution years' of Eusebius. Mr. G. W. Richardson, before his appointment as Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leeds, had been studying with me the Eusebian account of the persecution of Diocletian, and I have asked him to state the case against Dr. Lawlor's view. With his conclusions I concur, and it will therefore be sufficient for me to refer briefly to the three specific instances adduced by Dr. Lawlor in support of his chronological scheme:

(i.) The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in the second year of the persecution. This Eusebius would appear to have ante-dated; cf. *infra*, p. 99.

(ii.) The proclamation of Constantine as Emperor—July, 306—in the third persecution year. *Chronicon*, ed. Fotheringham, p. 310.

The entry of Eusebius under the third year of the persecution runs as follows:

Maximinus et Seuerus a Galerio Maximiano Caesares facti. Constantius XVI imperii anno diem obiit in Britannia Eboraci, post quem filius eius Constantinus ex concubina Helena procreatus regnum inuadit.

The only conclusion which, it would seem, can be deduced from this passage is that Eusebius was confused in his chronology of events of imperial history. The election of the Caesars—May 1, 305—and the proclamation of Constantine in July, 306, can

on no theory of the Eusebian chronology be included in a single 'persecution year.' The entry cannot be used in support of Dr. Lawlor's view.

(iii.) The Toleration Edict of Galerius (April 30, 311) is placed by Eusebius in the eighth persecution year: for this contention Dr. Lawlor refers to *H.E.* VIII. 16. 1, and *M.P.* 13. 11.

Here I can only say that I do not read Eusebius in this sense. His words are: *Τοιαύτ' ἦν τὰ διὰ πάντος τοῦ διωγμοῦ παρατετακότα, δεκάτῃ μὲν ἔτει σὺν θεοῦ χάριτι παντελῶς πεπαυμένου, λωφᾶν γε μὴν μετ' ὀγδοὺν ἔτος ἐναρξάμενου*—i.e. the abatement of the persecution caused by the publication of the Edict of Galerius began *after the eighth year*: the eighth year of the persecution had ended before the publication of the Edict of Toleration (*H.E.* VIII. 16. 1). The same chronology is implied in *M.P.* 13. 11: *Ταῦτα μὲν οἶν τὰ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ συμπερανθέντα μαρτύρια, κ.τ.λ.*—the period of persecution lasted eight *complete* years: the Edict of Galerius was issued shortly after the completion of the eighth year of persecution.

I should like to add here that my argument (*C.Q.* XVIII., pp. 189-190) for the date of the entry into office of Hierocles as prefect could have been strengthened by a reference to *Pap. Ox.* VI. 895, which shows that Culcianus was still prefect in May, 305.¹ I see no reason to withdraw any of the conclusions of my paper.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

ADDENDVM.

EUSEBIUS' *Martyrs of Palestine* is not, and is not intended to be, a history. A variety of questions of supreme importance to the historian are unnoticed. The predominant interest—almost the exclusive interest—is the suffering and death of the martyrs. Even the edicts which occasioned their martyrdom are described in as summary a manner as possible; allusions to other imperial events are merely incidental. One result of this exclusiveness of interest is that though the scheme of the work is, as was natural, chronological, the chronological unit is not the consular year but the 'year of the persecution.' The historian is consequently confronted with the problem of relating Eusebius' 'persecution years' to consular years, or years of the Christian era. A brief tabular summary of the work will help to make the subsequent argument clear. The transition from one year of persecution to the next is indicated wherever it is noticed by Eusebius.² Where several martyrs suffered at the same time the name of the most prominent, or the first mentioned, is given.

	April	First edict (cap. 1).
		Second and third edicts.
	June 7	Martyrdom of Procopius.
	Nov. 17	Alphaeus and Zacchaeus.
2nd year:		Fourth edict (cap. 3).
		Timotheus.
	March 24	Timolaus.
3rd year:		Fifth edict (cap 4).
	April 2	Apphianus.

¹ Cf. John R. Knipfing, *The Date of the Acts of Phileas and Philoromus*. *Harvard Theological Review* XVI. (1923), pp. 198-203.

² In the shorter (Greek) version. Where chronological references are given in the *text* of

Cureton's Syriac version, they are in agreement with those of the Greek. In the one instance where the date given in a *heading* in the Syriac conflicts with that given by the Greek text, we must, I think, accept the latter.

4th year: Nov. 20	Agapius (cap. 6).
5th year: April 2	Theodosia (cap. 7).
Nov. 5	Domninus.
6th year:	97 Egyptians (sent to the mines, cap. 8):
July 25	Paul.
	130 Egyptians (sent to the mines).
	Relaxation of persecution cap. 9).
	Sixth edict.
Nov. 13	Antoninus.
Dec. 14	Ares.
Jan. 10	Paul and Asclepius.
Feb. 16	Pamphilus.
March 5 and 7	Adrianus and Eubulus.
8th year:	Peleus.
	Silvanus.

One would naturally suppose that Eusebius, in reckoning a persecution year, would follow one of two methods: either he would regard each such year as beginning at the time of the publication of the first edict in Palestine (in April), or he would regard the first year as ending on December 31, 303, and date the second from January 1, 304, and so forth. In view, however, of certain difficulties presented by both these hypotheses, Professor Lawlor (in his *Eusebiana*)¹ has advocated a third: that Eusebius extended the 'first year of the persecution' from April, 303, to December, 304, and dated the second from January 1, 305. It is the purpose of this paper to show that the first hypothesis—that Eusebius reckoned each persecution year from April—with a slight modification to be suggested later, has the balance of evidence in its favour, and that the arguments advanced against it can be met.

(1) In the third chapter of the *Martyrs of Palestine* it is recorded that Timolaus and others were martyred on March 24, in the second year of the persecution, and about the time of the abdication of Diocletian. That event took place (on the authority of Lactantius) on May 1, 305. The second year of the persecution had not ended, therefore, by March 24, 305.

(2) Apphianus was martyred (cap. 4) on April 2 in the third year of the persecution, and after the accession of Maximin (May 1, 305). His martyrdom must therefore be dated April 2, 306; which means that the third year of the persecution extended to that date.

(3) Pamphilus, the celebrated presbyter of Caesarea and friend of Eusebius, was arrested at least as late as November in the fifth year of the persecution (cap. 7), and martyred on February 16 in the seventh (cap. 11). His imprisonment lasted two years²—a point on which it is inconceivable that Eusebius should have been in error. If we date a persecution year from April, from November in the fifth year to February in the seventh would be twenty-seven months; if from January, fifteen.

(4) A strong argument—to my mind conclusive—is provided by the account of the martyrdom of Theodosia in a fragment of the longer Greek version.³ The story is introduced by the phrase: 'Ἐπὶ πέμπτῳ μὲν ἔτος ἥδη ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸς παρετείνετο, μὴν δὲ ἦν Ξανθικός, ἡμέρα τοῦτου β' . . . 'The persecution was approaching its fifth year. It was the month of April, and the second day of the month . . .'

(5) It is worth while to compare with this a passage at the beginning of the thirteenth chapter which has presented some difficulty: 'Ἐβδόμῳ ἔτος τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν

¹ Oxford, 1912.

³ Published in the edition of the *M.P.* in the

² ἐτῶν δυνὲν ὀκτὼν χρόνον. The fragment of the longer Greek version has δυνὲν ἐτῶν χρόνον. Vienna Corpus.

ἀγῶνος ἡνύετο, καὶ πῶς ἡρέμα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡσυχῇ τὸ ἀπερίεργον εἰληφότων, εἰς ὀγδοὸν τε διαγενομένων ἔτος, ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ χαλκοῦ μέταλλα οὐκ ὀλίγης ὁμολογητῶν συγκεκροτημένης πληθύνος . . . ὃ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχων, δεινός τις ὢν καὶ πονηρὸς . . . ἡνύετο has usually been translated 'was completed'; but, as Professor Lawlor points out, the correct translation is 'was being completed.' How is the apparent contradiction (ἐβδομον . . . ἡνύετο . . . εἰς ὀγδοὸν . . . διαγενομένων) to be explained? Let me recall the context. At the end of Chapter XI, Eusebius records the death of the last of the martyrs of Caesarea, Eubulus, on March 7. Then follows a short parenthetical chapter on the indignities suffered by the clergy during the persecution. The thirteenth opens with the passage quoted. I suggest that Eusebius is looking back to the last event in his narrative, and that the thought in his mind is this: "At the point we have now reached in our record (the martyrdom of Eubulus) the seventh year was nearing its end. . . . In the course of the eighth year . . ." The apparent inconsistency of the sentence is due to verbal economy and the use of the genitive absolute construction. But for our present purpose the important point is the indication that at the time of Eubulus' martyrdom—March 7—the seventh year of the persecution was nearing its close.

It will be noticed that all the above arguments are operative against the ordinary January theory; the last three are equally valid against the modification proposed by Professor Lawlor.

We must now consider one or two difficulties presented by the view here advocated.¹ The most serious concerns the date of the martyrdom of Apphianus and that of Theodosia. We have seen that Apphianus suffered on April 2 in the third year of the persecution, and that this must be taken to be April 2, 306. Now Theodosia was martyred on April 2, in the fifth year (according to the shorter Greek version). We should expect this to be April 2, 308. But the martyrdom of Domninus is recorded (after that of Theodosia) on November 5, also in the fifth year. Since, if we date a persecution year from April, the fifth year would end in April, 308, Domninus must have suffered in November, 307, and Theodosia, therefore, also in 307. We have arrived at the paradoxical result that April 2, 306, belongs to the third year of the persecution, while April 2, 307, belongs to the fifth. But the paradox can be explained, I think, as follows. It is noticeable that Eusebius not only omits to specify the day on which the first edict appeared, but actually puts it in different months in the two passages in which he mentions it (March in the *Church History*, April in the *Martyrs of Palestine*). The explanation of this vagueness and discrepancy is, no doubt, the fact that the edict was not published everywhere at precisely the same time. In some provinces it was not issued until a month or more after its promulgation at Nicomedia (February 24). And it is obvious that even in the same province it would be likely to appear in some places a day or so earlier than in others. (This was certainly the case in Africa.) This irregularity would tend to prevent the adoption of a definite anniversary. On the other hand, it was a well-remembered fact that the edict appeared (in Palestine) shortly before Easter. I suggest that Eusebius reckoned his persecution years not from a definite date, but, rather vaguely, from 'shortly before Easter.'

Now the martyrdom of Theodosia occurred (according to the shorter Greek text) on Easter Sunday. (This at least is the natural interpretation of the expression ἐν αὐτῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως.) If Eusebius reckoned a persecution year from 'shortly before Easter,' he would naturally place the martyrdom at the beginning of a new persecution year, regardless of the fact that the previous April 2 had been assigned to the end of an old one.²

¹ Attention is called to them by Professor Lawlor, *op. cit.*

² As a matter of fact Easter Sunday in 307

fell on April 6, not April 2. There is a similar discrepancy in all cases where the day of the week and the day of the month are both given.

Another difficulty is this. In *H.E.* VIII. 13, Eusebius tells us that 'the revolution in the government' (that is, the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian) occurred before the end of the second year of the persecution. On the system of chronology here advocated this would mean before Easter, 305. In fact, as we know from Lactantius, the abdication took place on May 1, 305. If Eusebius were invariably accurate in his dating of political events this might be a strong argument for Professor Lawlor's theory (though to say that the second year 'was not yet completed' [οὐπω πεπλήρωτο], when in fact it had yet two-thirds of its course to run, would still appear rather odd). But not only does the invariable vagueness of Eusebius' references to political events suggest a corresponding vagueness in his recollection of them; in the present case there are independent grounds for believing that his memory misled him. I submit the following points for consideration:

(1) In *M.P.* 3, after recording the martyrdom of Agapius on March 24 in the second year of the persecution, Eusebius says that 'at this time' (ἐν τούτῳ) a change of rulers took place.

(2) In *M.P.* 13 he tells us that the persecution in the West lasted less than two years (οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν δυοί). Yet he cannot have supposed it to have ceased before the accession of Constantius as senior Augustus (May 1, 305).¹

It is apparent from these passages that Eusebius, writing some eight or ten years after the event, antedated the abdication.

So much for the main problem. A minor difficulty of another kind remains to be dealt with. Contrary to his usual practice, and possibly by an oversight, Eusebius omits to notice the transition from the sixth year of the persecution to the seventh. At what point does the seventh year begin?

In the first place, it is certain that Pamphilus was martyred in the seventh year (he was arrested about November in the fifth, and detained in prison for two years). And it may be taken as practically certain that the events of Chapter VIII.—the mutilation and transportation of 97 Egyptians, the similar treatment of a number of Palestinian confessors, and the martyrdom of Paul and Valentina—occurred in the same year—the sixth. We must therefore begin the seventh either with Antoninus, Petrus, or Pamphilus (not with Ares: it is expressly stated that he suffered in the month following that of the martyrdom of Antoninus). This means that an interval of over twelve months must be left either between the martyrdom of Paul and that of Antoninus, or between Antoninus and Petrus, or Petrus and Pamphilus. There can be no doubt which of these is to be preferred. At the beginning of Chapter IX. (that is, after the account of Paul's martyrdom and before that of Antoninus) Eusebius records a relaxation of persecution and the release of the Christian convicts in the Thebaid. This is obviously the point to choose. It might indeed be suggested that this diversion is the explanation of Eusebius'

But the question whether the precise dates given by Eusebius for individual martyrdoms are accurate is for the present purpose immaterial.

The fact that the Syriac and the longer Greek versions state simply that Theodosia was martyred on a Sunday may imply some doubt (at the time when Eusebius wrote) whether it was Easter Sunday or the previous Sunday; and the alteration, if the longer version is to be regarded as a revision of the shorter, may indicate either an avoidance of the dispute or an acceptance of the earlier date. The change of construction from *eis πέμπτον ἔτος παραθένης* to *παρετέλειτο* might suggest the latter. The effect of that change is to place the martyrdom of Theo-

dosia at the end of the fourth year instead of in the fifth, or rather, perhaps, in an indeterminate period that could not be precisely assigned either to the fourth or the fifth. The use of such an expression as *eis πέμπτον ἔτος παρετέλειτο* might appear in itself to lend support to the hypothesis of indefiniteness in the dating of the persecution year.

¹ Professor Lawlor explains this by his theory that by 'whole years' Eusebius means 'unbroken years, together with parts of the years preceding and following, so that a period, say, from some date in January, 303, to some day in December, 305, would be 'not two whole years'—a theory I cannot accept.

omission to notice the transition to the seventh year. It took place, in fact, during the amnesty.

I may now conclude by repeating the table of martyrs, substituting for the persecution years of Eusebius the years of the Christian era :

303 :	April	First edict (cap. 1).
"		Second and third edicts.
"	June 7	Martyrdom of Procopius.
"	Nov. 17	Alphaeus and Zacchaeus.
305 : (?)		Fourth edict (cap. 3).
305 :		Timotheus.
"	March 24	Timolaus.
306 :	April 2	Apphianus.
"	Nov. 20	Agapius (cap. 6).
307 :	April 2	Theodosia (cap. 7).
"	Nov. 5	Domninus.
308 : (?)		97 Egyptians sent to the mines (cap. 8).
308 :	July 25	Paul.
"		130 Egyptians sent to the mines.
"	(?)	Relaxation of persecution (cap. 9).
309 :		Sixth edict.
"	Nov. 13	Antoninus.
"	Dec. 14	Ares.
310 :	Jan. 10	Paul and Asclepius.
"	Feb. 16	Pamphilus.
"	March 5 and 7	Adrianus and Eubulus.
310 : (?)		Peleus.
"		Silvanus.

G. W. RICHARDSON.

TWO LOST MANUSCRIPTS OF TERENCE.

RECENTLY in this journal (XIX. 28) I tried to sketch the 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte' of Terence, and showed how the use of this author in ancient and medieval schools had affected his text. An editor of Terence, who has not failed to learn from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* the zealous reformation (and deformation) of classical texts by monastery-teachers from Charlemagne's time onwards, feels the necessity for earlier evidence than the ninth- and tenth-century MSS. on which (with the codex Bembinus) our knowledge of Terence is based. The text current in Donatus' time we can often guess at from his commentary. But, alas! his commentary has been most imperfectly preserved. The text used by this or that grammarian we learn from their quotations. But, alas! they often quote from memory. Still, every little helps; and it is deplorable that English editors and emendators have so often neglected this pre-Carolingian evidence. No University Press should accept an *apparatus criticus* which ignores the ancient *testimonia* and confines itself to the minuscule MSS.

In the forthcoming O.C.T. Terence, the symbols *gl. I.* and *gl. II.* denote the two lost MSS. with which this article is concerned. Both were MSS. of the δ -family, the best family of (minuscule) MSS. Or, rather, *gl. I.* certainly was, and *gl. II.* almost certainly was. *Gl. I.* was a fragment (*And., Ad., Eun.*); and since Mr. Austin (see pp. 104-6) tells us about it and its chief contributions to the text, only one remark need be added here. We know that Servatus Lupus, the learned abbot of Ferrières, applied to a friend for a loan of Donatus' *Commentary of Terence*; and we know that the δ -text may possibly be merely a Calliopian text emended from Donatus' notes. But in case any person should be tempted to put these two scraps of knowledge together (for the epidemic of 'Combinationsforschung' may invade our shores at any moment), let me warn him that our manuscript evidence of the δ -text seems to be earlier than Lupus. *Gl. II.* was described by Mr. Weir in 1922 (*C.Q.* XVI. 44), before I had worked through Dr. Kauer's collation of the MSS. (on which my O.C.T. text is based). A fuller account of it, even with some repetition of what Mr. Weir has said, is therefore useful.

It seems to have been written in Spain not later than the seventh century or the opening years of the eighth. Some monastery-teacher had filled its margins with explanations of such words as might puzzle his pupils. These explanations are often ludicrously wrong. They emanate from the teacher's own brain, and never suggest that he had access to annotation handed down from ancient times. Or hardly ever; his explanation of *hortamentis* (*Haut.* 836) as *alimentis* (*C.Q.* XIX. 34) may be an exception. The librarian of another monastery borrowed the book, and transcribed these explanations along with the words of Terence which they explained, and this list of 'glossae collectae' was used as material for the famous Abolita Glossary. That is how the readings (some hundreds of words) of this lost MS. of Terence have been preserved for us.

Now the Abolita Glossary had other materials—'glossae collectae' from a MS. of Virgil, 'glossae collectae' from a MS. of Apuleius, 'glossae collectae' (or rather a marginal summary) from a MS. of Festus, *de Verborum Significatu*, etc. (*Journ. Phil.* XXXIV. 267)—and all these materials were thrown into one heap and arranged in

rough alphabetical order, an AB-order, only the first two letters of each word being regarded. It is lucky that the alphabetical rearrangement did not go further than the AB-stage, for the Terence glosses have managed to keep together in batches fairly well; but it is unlucky that there was any alphabetical rearrangement, for it brought with it inevitable dislocation of the original order of the glosses. Often there is doubt whether a gloss comes from Terence or from Virgil or Apuleius; and even where it can be certainly ascribed to Terence, the precise line of Terence may be doubtful. When my edition of *Abolita* appears, the reader will find that there is sufficient evidence for the following list of notable readings:

And. 235 Numquidnam : quid ideo. Our minuscule MSS. of Terence (the Bembinus is not in evidence till near the end of the play) have *nunc quidnam*. Previously editors could only quote Donatus for *num*. Now we can cite this Spanish MS.

451 Obsonatum : emptum. So this MS. had not *obsonatus*.

615 †Proquodam† : protraham. The minuscule MSS. have *producam*; Donatus supplies *productem*. This MS. presumably had *procudam*.

642 Prospiciunt : propitii aspiciunt. This, the reading of the rather second-rate MS. *E*, was tossed aside by editors, since the other MSS. have *respiciunt*, the 'uox propria.' But now, with a seventh-century voucher, we had better consider the possibility of *prospiciunt* being the 'uox Terentiana,' for which school-master editors substituted the 'uox propria.'

810 Fuere : fuerunt (-re δ; -runt γ).

825 Pro studio : pro intentione. Priscian (II., p. 50, line 8) attests *prae*, the reading of all the MSS.

914 Subsistit : sufficit, praeualet. Of course *substet* is what Terence wrote; but *p*, an excellent MS. of the δ-family, has *subsistat*, and so, I fancy, had this MS., for the glossary-compiler (or the transcriber of the 'glossae collectae') often substitutes a 3rd Sing. Act. Pres. Ind. for the actual verb-form used by Terence.

Haut. 408 Exoptatam : desideratam (-optata δ; -pectata γ).

471 Tethinis (*lege* techi-) : fraudibus, dolis. The other MSS. have *technis*. The metre requires *techinis*. Here at last we have manuscript evidence.

630 Inscientiam : imprudentiam (a δ-family variant of the Terentian *inscitiam*).

Eun. 315 Habiliior : delectatior. Donatus mentions this reading; and in *A* it preceded *habitiior*.

424 Adludit : appetit. This MS. did not share the common mistake, *lud-* for *allud-*.

904 Apagete : aperite. This deserves mention, partly as a specimen of the annotator's folly, partly because leading MSS. of the δ-family omit *apage te*.

Phorm. 901 Rebamini : arbitramini. The evidence of the *Liber Glossarum* and other glossaries proves that the extant MSS. of *Abolita* are not in error with their *arbitramini*. The Present, not the Imperfect, was the actual form written by the compiler of *Abolita*. And this is a strong argument (but not the only argument) for referring the gloss to this line.

Hec. 313 Conciuisse : concitauisse. This, the Terentian word, was previously supported only by Donatus and by Jovialis. Now we have manuscript evidence for it. The *concluserit* of the Bembinus is merely a change of *conciuerit* (misread *concluerit*) of the other MSS.

629 Contersurum (*lege* -cess-) : migraturum (*lege* -ram). This evidence of the old indeclinable Fut. Part. Act. I mentioned in *Journ. Phil.* XXXIV.

Adel. 698 Eo magis : ideo plus. The δ-reading (*ideo magis* γ).

W. M. LINDSAY.

CIRIS.

GOETZ (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* VII. 214) explains the Philoxenus gloss (*C.G.L.* II. 100, 27) as a fusion of two items:

Circum: *ἱέρακα*.

<Cirīs: . . .> *ἔστι δὲ ὄρνεον μεταβληθείσης τῆς Σκύλλης τῆς Νίσου.*

And certainly Plautus might be cited for a Latin *circus* (Greek *κίρκος*), a hawk, if we accept Varro's version of *Poen.* 530:

uinceretis circum cursu uel gralatore gradu.

The great Latin *Thesaurus* prefers to believe that the *ciris* (*κείρις*) was actually identified with a hawk. And certainly Hesychius supports this:

Κείρις · ὄρνεον ἱέραξ, οἱ δὲ ἀλκυόνα.

An article, 'Bird-names in Latin Glossaries,' in *Classical Philology* XIII. [1918] 1, shows how baseless many of these identifications in glossaries were. The surest identifications are found in the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* (*C.G.L.* III.), but *ciris* does not appear there; nor are we much helped by Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus* (p. 543, 16-17):

luscinia, cibinnus, alceus, iaculus, falco, ciris, senator, fringuellus, rex, barbio, picus, passer, gaius, etc.

We must fall back on the description of the bird in Gallus' *epyllium*, from which we learn that it was a sea-bird with red legs, so rapid in flight that it always evaded the swoop of the sea-eagle. What can this be but a tern?

My zoological friends tell me that 'the common tern and one or two other species have red legs'; 'the common tern (*sterna hirundo*), with coral-red legs, includes in its wide range Mediterranean shores'; 'everything you say about the *κείρις* points to a tern, which could certainly baffle an eagle.' And Dresser, *Birds of Europe*, p. 557, says of the sea-eagle (*haliaëtus albicilla*): 'On the shores of the Adriatic it is the commonest of the large eagles. . . . Often to be seen in Epirus and Acarnania. . . . Almost every large breeding-place of sea-fowl is also inhabited by a sea-eagle, preying at pleasure on his weaker neighbours.'

What theory for explaining away the pretty stories of old Greece is in fashion now? Is it still the Year-daimon theory (whatever that may be)? Then we shall be told that the sea-eagles are year-daimons and the escaping terns are the fleeting months. Well, I admit that a Greek whose mind was obsessed by thoughts of the calendar might possibly say to himself as he watched each escape of the tern: 'There goes January!' 'Well done, February!' 'Bravo, March!' etc. Last century, when the Solar Myth was in fashion, we should have been told that the sea-eagle was the sun, the tern the moon. Well, I admit that a Dionysiac reveller might see the sun swooping—yes, swooping vindictively and repeatedly at the moon. But I am old-fashioned enough to prefer a simpler explanation and to follow Wordsworth's treatment of Greek Mythology.

A Greek once lay by a sea-cliff and watched the mighty sea-eagle swooping and swooping at the nimble, graceful sea-swallow. Why this relentless animosity?

The Greek was versed in Oriental tales of birds and beasts, whose strange behaviour showed them to have once been human beings changed for some misdeed into this form. What had the eagle, the king, suffered at the hands of the tern-princess? The word *κείρις* meant 'the cutter,' and called up another Oriental story of the fatal cutting of a magic lock of hair. And in this way the whole legend would take shape in his mind.

Yes, I prefer that explanation to the Year-daimon theory or the Solar-myth theory. (For other guesses see Knaack in *Hermes* LVII. [1902] 224.)

But here is a point of interest. When Virgil says (*Ciris* 508, 511),

secat aethera pennis,

is this his etymology of *κείρις*? Or is he merely using a phrase he might use of any nimble bird? I say 'Virgil,' being convinced that the last four lines (and probably more) of Gallus' *Ciris* were written by Virgil (who else could write them?), the four lines he has incorporated in the *Georgics* (I. 406-409).

W. M. LINDSAY.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

TERENCE, *ADELPHI* 350.

IN Volume V. of his *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, published in 1894, Goetz included (pp. 529 sqq.) a list of 'glossae collectae' from a lost fragmentary MS. of Terence, of the δ-family, for the three plays *Andria*, *Adelphi*, and *Eunuchus*. These he found in a Vatican MS. (*Vat. Lat.* 1471), dated by him 'saec. ix.' They form a selection only from the marginalia of that lost MS. (e.g. only three *B*-words, and only two *R*-words, while there are no *D*-words from the *Eunuchus*; the list ends after only eleven *S*-words). They are arranged by *A*-, not *AB*-, so that each item can be referred with certainty to its proper place in Terence (references will be found in Goetz' *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*). In another MS. Goetz discovered a list of the same marginalia, but much less full, although it adds one *I*-word and one *V*-word; this MS. he dates 'saec. x.,' and gives its readings in the apparatus. Now, although the interpretations are without value, the words of the MS. itself show an excellent text of the δ-family, i.e. the better family of the minuscule MSS. of Terence—e.g. here alone was preserved the true reading *grandicula* at *And.* 814, *poste* at *Eun.* 493; alone of the minuscule MSS. it read *etiamdum* at *Eun.* 570, and alone, with Priscian, it had *decurso*, not *excurso*, at *Ad.* 860.

I am now able to supplement this evidence from a glossary on which I have been working for Professor Lindsay. This we may call *Arma*, as its first item is *Arma* : bellum, id est pugna (a Virgil-gloss from *Aen.* i, 1). Goetz mentions but does not publish this glossary, which fills foll. 119r-128r of the Leyden MS., 67 F; it is arranged by *A*-, not *AB*-, like *Vat. Lat.* 1471, and stops abruptly in the middle of F. Its component elements are as follow, and are kept quite distinct :

- (a) 'Glossae collectae' from some MS. of Virgil (cf. Mrs. Dall in *C.Q.* XVII. 200).
- (b) 'Glossae collectae' of uncertain origin, very few in number.
- (c) Terence 'glossae collectae' from *And.*, *Ad.*, *Eun.*
- (d) 'Glossae collectae' from some MS. of Lucan, also very scanty.
- (e) A selection of *Abolita* glosses, with a very few from *Abstrusa* included.

It is unfortunate that the Terence-items are so few, for no comparison with Goetz' *Glossarium Terentianum* can be made with satisfactory results. But as the MS. from which they are taken contains the same three plays in the same order as in Goetz' *Glossarium*, it surely provides evidence of readings of the same lost MS. which has given us the four unique readings already quoted, unless indeed we are to assume that there were *two* such fragmentary MSS. of the δ -family with the same peculiarities. Now at *Adelphi* 350 the extant MSS. read :

experiar. GE. quid istic? accedo ut melius dicas. So. tu quantum potes,

where *accedo* is also the reading of Lactantius Placidus (ad Stat. *Theb.* V. 343) and Priscian (II., p. 85). But *accedo* is possible only if the normal *quid istic* is changed to the abnormal *quid isti*, so Bentley proposed *cedo*. This emendation is confirmed by the reading of the lost MS. of Terence as shown in *Arma*, for at the head of the *Adelphi* C-words stands (C 280) :

C[a]edo : adquiesco.

I append a full list of these new 'glossae collectae.' In the A-chapter, after the Virgil items (ending with A 322 *Affectat : appetit*, from *Geo.* 4, 562), follows first a small batch of uncertain source and then these Terence-items (A 329-337) :

Accepit condicionem : inuenit opportunitatem (*And.* 79).

<Aduentum tempus> : aduentu temporis, isto tempore (*And.* 844).

Aegritudo : molestia (*And.* 961).

[A]egestas : necessitas (*Ad.* 104).

Adsentandi : adulandi (*Ad.* 270).

Admodum : prope (*Ad.* 403).

Adestus (adortus) : adgressus (*Ad.* 404).

Aliorsum : aliter (*Eun.* 82).

Ad rem : ad hereditatem (*Eun.* 131).

There are no B-items ; C-items are as follow (C 279-292) :

Catus : catonis (?) (*And.* 855 ?).

C[a]edo : adquiesco (*Ad.* 350).

Cupide : animose (*Ad.* 209).

Compos animo : sum meo sensu[m] (C. *animi*, *Ad.* 310).

Copia : potestates (*Eun.* 638 ?).

Cal<l>ide : astut[iss]e (*Ad.* 417).

Cautio : cautilla (*Ad.* 421).

Cal<l>eat : durus sit.

Cal<l>eo : uiuax sum (*Ad.* 533).

Collecta : in unum congregata.

Conparem : parem (*Eun.* 47).

[Here follow two items of the Lucan-batch]

Commissatorem : conuiuiam (*Ad.* 783).

D-items (D 142-149) :

Discessio : hic di<s>cidio (*And.* 568).

Deludier : inludi (*And.* 203).

Dissignauit : inrupit (*Ad.* 87).

Daecartus es (debacchatus es) : hic deferuisti (*Ad.* 184).

De sorte : de captiuitate (*Ad.* 243).

Defrudat : tollit (*Ad.* 246).

Discernere : hic capellare (?) (*discernere*, *Ad.* 544).

Disrupta : hic discessa (-sci-) (?) (*diruta*, *Ad.* 925).

E-items (*E* 110-116):

- Effecisti : elaborasti (*And.* 595).
 Expectaui (spect-) : perpendi (*And.* 646).
 Excrucis : tenaui (?).
 Excrucio : consumo (*And.* 886).
 Exasse : diacamus (?) (? *ex sese*, *And.* 954).
 Enumerasti : et computasti (*Ad.* 236).
 Ex sententia : ex uoluntate (*Ad.* 371, 420).

It will be seen that the attribution of *C* 280 to *Ad.* 350 is not entirely above suspicion, as it does not occupy its exact place. But the first two items of *D* are also out of order (if *D* 142 is rightly assigned to *And.* 568); while the position of *C* 283 and *C* 292 shows that the *C*-batch has been slightly rearranged; and elsewhere too in *Arma* the glossary-compiler (or transcriber) is occasionally guilty of similar slight irregularity. At least, it seems more probable that *C* 280 is from *Ad.* 350 rather than that it is a 'headless' gloss <Do>: cedo, adquiesco (*Ad.* 51) or (though, indeed, the glossator was quite capable of such a perpetration) a foolish explanation of *cēdō* (*Ad.* 123 'cedo quemuis arbitrum').

I have to thank Professor Lindsay for much help in the compilation of this article.

ROLAND G. AUSTIN.

GLASGOW.

CICERO, *CATO MAIOR* II. 4.

Deinde qui minus grauis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam [si] octogesimum?

THIS sentence has to do with people who complain that the evils of old age have come upon them all too soon. Cicero rejoins that they would be of exactly the same mind, even though they had a life ten times as long to look back upon.

The question is whether or not *si* should be read before *octogesimum*. The older editors generally omit the word, while later editions show great unanimity in retaining it.

The testimony of the manuscripts is by no means conclusive. So far as they are concerned, either reading may represent the original. The matter, therefore, must be judged on other grounds.

In the first place, if *si* were a part of the original text, it is hard to account for its omission by the copyist. On the other hand, if it did not appear in the original, it might easily have been interpolated, under the influence of *si octingentesimum* and the suggestion of balance in *quam*. To this extent, then, the text without *si* is the 'lectio difficilior,' and the presumption is in its favour.

In the second place, the general meaning of the passage must be taken into account. Apparently Cicero is using the 'eightieth year' as a round number to indicate the age actually attained by the discontented people whom he criticizes; and he multiplies this by ten to secure an indefinitely large number for purposes of contrast. Otherwise he might have fallen back upon the more conventional *sescenti* or *mille*.

Almost entire lack of discussion of the general meaning of the sentence seems to show that the editors are agreed in giving it this obvious interpretation, whether they read *si*, or omit it.

Thus Bennett, who retains *si*, in his note on this passage renders *quam si* 'instead of'—*i.e.*, 'How would old age be less a burden to them, if they were in their eight-hundredth year instead of in their eightieth?'

This brings out the meaning of the passage exactly; the difficulty is that *quam si* does not mean 'instead of.' As a matter of fact, the addition of *si* produces a conditional clause of comparison; and when this type of construction is introduced by *quam si*, a suppressed apodosis is regularly involved¹—*i.e.*, 'How would old age be less a burden to them, if they were in their eight-hundredth year than (it would be) if they were in their eightieth?'

This, of course, is entirely unsatisfactory; for it intimates that the people in question have not yet attained to a ripe old age.² Omitting *si*, everything is plain: 'How would old age be less a burden to them, if they were in their eight-hundredth year rather than in their eightieth?'

It will be noted that 'rather than' in this last rendering is synonymous with Bennett's 'instead of'; both these phrases represent *quam*, but not *quam si*.

Therefore, as being in one respect the 'lectio difficilior,' and as fitting exactly the general meaning of the passage, the last phrase of the sentence should be written without *si*.

H. C. NUTTING.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

¹ See *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, V. 191 sqq.

² Schütz is quoted as suspecting that the original might have read *quam cum*, which would satisfy all demands of the passage admirably. But no such reading is reported.

³ The use of *quam* in the sense '(rather) than' is, of course, well attested, and not infrequent. Its entrance here is specially unobtrusive, because of the comparative idea which figures earlier in the sentence (note *minus*).

CORRIGENDVM.

In the *Classical Quarterly* for January, 1925, p. 5, last line of note 1, for 'Posidonius' read 'Crantor.'

ETYMOLOGIES.

LATIN 'SPĒS.'

ACCORDING to Walde's *Etymological Dictionary*, Latin *spēs* is cognate with *spatium* and with Old Church Slavonic *spěchŭ*. Under *spatium* he refers us to Skt. *sphāyati*, 'swells out,' 'grows out,' *sphita*, 'fat,' 'flourishing,' and a number of Baltic-Slavonic and Germanic words, from which I will select O.E. *spēd*, 'speed,' and Lith. *spėti*, 'have time for something,' 'to be quick enough.' In place of this etymology I venture to suggest that *spēs* must be connected with another Lithuanian *spėti*, which is duly recorded in Lalis's *Lithuanian-English Dictionary*. It means 'guess,' 'conjecture,' or 'suppose,' and occurs not only uncompounded, but also in the compound *atspėti*, 'guess,' 'divine,' 'solve' (a riddle). The Lat. *spes* means no doubt 'hope,' but it also means 'expectation,' which comes nearer to the meaning of the Lithuanian words.

If this identification is accepted, fresh light falls on the origin of the Old Norse *spá*, 'to have second sight,' 'to foretell the future, as, for example, by means of cards.' This word reached Scotland from Scandinavia, and survives in the compounds *spae-man* and *spae-wife*. The Oxford *English Dictionary*, under the word *spae*-, mentions the origin from the Norse *spá*, but abstains from giving the origin of the Norse word. Other dictionaries, such as that of Torp, say that *spá* comes from *spaha*, and is related to O.H.G. *spēhon*, Lat. *specio*. This, however, involves several difficulties, chief of which is the presence of *a* and not *e* in the first syllable of this hypothetical form. All difficulties disappear if we equate the Norse *spā*- with the stem of Lith. *spėti* and of Lat. *spē*-s, as is of course permitted by the ascertained correspondence of Norse *ā* with Indo-Eur. *ē*. This word never contained a guttural, and is not related to Lat. *specio*.

Finally, it is perhaps worth asking whether ἀσπάσιος is not derived from the same root. In many of the Homeric passages ἀσπάσιος is applied to a person or thing which gives pleasure to somebody by his or its unexpected arrival or occurrence after all hope has been given up. Ἀσπάσιος, as E. Fraenkel has pointed out,¹ cannot be derived from ἀσπάζομαι; the truth rather seems to be that both words presuppose a stem ἀσπατ-, which I would analyze into ἀ- (negative particle) -σπᾶ- (weak grade of *spē*-, 'hope') and the -t-, which appears as a stem formative in compound words of the Sanskrit type *deva-śru-t-*, which is known to be very ancient.

ῥώννυμι.

The Homeric poems contain no example of the word ῥώννυμι or of any nominal formation from the same root, such as ῥώμη or ῥωμαλέος. This, however, is only true if we confine our attention to passages in which the syllable ῥω- means 'strong' or 'strength,' and regard the forms ἐρρώνοντο, 'they moved nimbly,' ἐρρώσαντο, 'streamed out' or 'waved,' as having nothing to do with ῥώννυμι. Gustav Meyer suggested that the two words must be connected; and although his reasoning has not convinced Boisacq, there seems to be several circumstances which indicate that Meyer was right.

In point of formation ῥώννυμι is parallel to στρώννυμι, which is well known to be a late formation from other parts of the verb, such as στρωτός, ἐστρωται, in which the syllable -ρω- is the representative of an Indo-European *ṛ*, which is also reflected

¹ *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 45, p. 171.

in Skt. *stīrṇā-*, the past participle passive of the disyllabic root *stavi-*, Grk. *στορε-*. The Homeric present is *στόρννμι*, and it either corresponds or nearly corresponds to the Skt. *stīrṇomi*. It may therefore be suspected that *ῥώνννμι*, or rather *ῥώνννμαι* (as it is usually passive), is a late formation from forms in which *ρω* may represent *ῥ*, such as *ἔρρωμαι*, third plural *ἔρρωντο*, and that the true present is *ὀρννμαι*.

So much for the form. On the side of the meaning it is noteworthy that, in Thuc. II. 8, *ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*, the meaning of *ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον* is 'they were quite possessed by the war fever,' 'they were keen on the war'; and a little lower down Thucydides uses the word again in the same sense: *ἔρρωτο τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναιτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς*, 'every person and every city *was eager* to give all the help in his power, either by word or by deed.' Liddell and Scott quote in addition Lysias XIII. 31: *οὕτω σφόδρα ἔρρωτο ἡ βουλὴ κακὸν τι ἐργάζεσθαι*, 'so eager was the Council to do something bad . . .' In these three passages the perfect passive, which, as we have seen, may be expected to be among the oldest tenses of this verb, means 'to be eager,' and has no implication of 'strength.' If we were to substitute *ὤρνντο* or *ᾠρνντο* the sense would remain unchanged, and in this fact I see an indication that *ἔρρωμαι* is originally the perfect of *ὀρννμαι*, and that the original meaning must be that which is shared by both forms; the idea of 'strength' must be due to a later change of sense in post-Homeric times.

The Homeric *ἔρρῶντο* seems to be the result of transferring *ἔρρωντο* from the non-thematic to the thematic conjugation.

The Homeric future and aorist of *ὀρννμι*, namely *ὄρσω*, *ᾠρσα*, along with the aorist middle *ᾠρτο* (Skt. *ārita*), might seem to indicate that the root is monosyllabic, not disyllabic. But apart from the fact that some roots have both monosyllabic and disyllabic forms, F. de Saussure has shown in his *Mémoire* that the Skt. imper. *īrṣva*, which he equates with *ὄρσο*, and the adjective *īrṣa-*, 'swift,' point clearly to a disyllabic root for *ὀρννμι*, just as the past participle *stīrṇa-* is part of the evidence for the disyllabic root of *στόρννμι*. De Saussure has on this point been contradicted, but not, so far as I can see, refuted.

The meaning of *ἔρρωμαι* in the fifth century and later is not so much 'I am strong' as 'I am in good health,' as may be seen especially in the form of farewell in letters, *ἔρρωσο*. Similarly *ἄρρωστος* means 'unwell,' and differs from *ἀσθενής*, which means 'weak.' It seems probable that *ἔρρωμαι* at first meant 'I am in motion,' 'I am up and about,' like the Homeric *ὀρώρει* in the phrase *γούνατ' ὀρώρει*,¹ the only difference being that in Homer the subject of the verb is not the person himself, but a part of himself, viz. his knees, whereas later the person himself becomes the subject. This is a general difference between Homeric and later Greek, which is almost too familiar to need illustration. We have it in a phrase like *θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γεγῆθει*, where the later language prefers to say not 'his spirit rejoiced,' but 'he rejoiced.' Similarly *πίθεις δὴ μὲν θυμόν*, *Od. XXIII. 230*. So, according to my belief, the Homeric phrase 'his knees are nimble' are replaced later by 'he is nimble,' 'he is up and about,' 'he is in good health.'

Ποίη, 'GRASS.'

It was pointed out as long ago as 1892 by Wilhelm Schulze in his *Quaestiones Epicae* that *ποίη*, if we assume it to be descended from an older **ποιFā*, corresponds to the Lithuanian *pieva*, 'meadow,' both being derivable from a parent-form **poiwā*. This etymology has been accepted by many scholars, including Boisacq in his *Etymological Dictionary*, and I accept it also. On the other hand, I agree with

¹ It is impossible to separate the three expressions *γούνατ' ὀρώρει* (IX. 610 and four other places), *γούνατα δ' ἔρρῶσαντο* (*Od. XXIII. 3*), and *ὑπὸ δὲ κνήμαι ῥῶντο ἀραιαί* (II. XVIII. 411).

Eduard Hermann¹ in so far as he considers that it ought to be possible to carry the enquiry a stage further and find out what other Indo-European words this *poiwā* is connected with. Hermann himself has attempted to show that it is related to *ποιμήν*. This, however, I do not find convincing, and I offer a different suggestion as a substitute for Hermann's.

My starting-point is a communication made in 1881 to the Parisian *Société de Linguistique* by Ferdinand de Saussure, of which I know nothing beyond the very brief résumé which was published at the time, and is now included in his collected works. De Saussure drew attention to the existence of disyllabic roots containing two sonants between the *e* (or *o*) and the *-a-* which characterize all disyllabic roots. He showed that the Sanskrit infinitive of the word for 'sew,' viz. *sevi-tum*, implies a root of the form *seiwā-*, and that the other forms of this root, namely *siw-* and *syū-*, are explainable in accordance with the principles which he had already developed in his *Mémoire* as two alternative forms of the weak grade of this root (*siwā-*). Of the same form are the root *deiwā-*, 'to play,' which is found in Sanskrit, and the root *speiwā-*, 'to spit,' and others which are not mentioned in the résumé.

The word for 'spit' is of especial value because it has survived in several branches of the Indo-European family, and especially in Lithuanian, where the infinitive meaning 'to spit' is *spiāuti*. This seems to show that the group *-eiwā-* in Indo-European corresponds to *-iāu-* in Lithuanian. If so, it is natural to suppose that among the other Lithuanian infinitives in *-iāu-ti* some at least belong to Indo-European roots of the form *-eiwā-*. One of these is *piāuti*, meaning 'mow,' 'reap,' or 'cut,' as grass or corn. If *spiāuti* belongs to *speiwā-*, *piāuti* may belong to a root *peiwā-*, and this hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the expected weak grade *piū-* is to be recognized in Lith. *piūtis*, 'harvest,' and in other forms which contain the syllable *piū-*.

If we apply to the Indo-European root *peiwā-* the principles of word-formation which are exemplified in the relation between *φέρω* and *φορά*, *δέρω* and *δορά*, etc., the result is a feminine noun *poiwā* (from *poiw(a)-ā*), the *schwa* being as usual elided before a vowel. This *poiwā* would mean a 'cutting,' 'mowing,' or 'harvesting,' and there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the Greek for 'grass' (namely *πόλη*) was originally a name for the process by which hay is obtained. Our own word *hay* is descended from a Germanic stem *hawja-*, which is connected with the word *hew*, so that hay also is named on this principle.

It may be objected that *πόλη* ought to be oxytone. The answer is that there is some slight evidence, mentioned in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott, to show that it was sometimes oxytone.

Finally, it may be asked whether this hypothesis does not throw some light on the curious fact that in Boeotian the word for 'meadow' is masculine, and not feminine. In a Boeotian inscription we have the genitive plural *τῶν πνᾶων*, not *τᾶν*. Perhaps we must recognize a stem ending in *-a-*, like Skt. *go-ṣani-*, 'cow-winner.' If this type did not accommodate itself to the normal scheme of Greek declension, it may perhaps have come to occupy an ambiguous position in respect of gender and declension.

R. MCKENZIE.

¹ *Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1918, p. 282.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XLV. 3. July-September, 1924.

W. A. Heidel, *Vergil's Messianic Expectations*: stated to be 'occasioned by the appearance of Norden's recent book, *Die Geburt des Kindes*.' While in the main highly praising this work, criticizes its attempt to trace to its origin the tradition embodied in *Eclogue* IV. Considers in detail some important questions, especially the reasons which seem to have led Vergil to suppose that the new *Aeon* would begin on January 1, 40 B.C. Paul Haupt, *Philological and Archaeological Studies*. Eight notes on the following topics: Camel and cable (with reference to *Mark* X. 25), salted with fire, Mercury in Roman medicine, the Median Lapis-lazuli mountain, salvation and redemption, threescore and ten (as the limit of human life), the Hittite name of Troy, and Ascanius and Alba Longa. M. B. Ogle, *On Some Theories concerning the Composition of the Aeneid*. Argues that in Books I-VI. the poet is developing a single theme of progressive revelation with regard to the promised land; and that, therefore, the seeming inconsistencies and contradictions of the passages describing the wanderings cannot be used as arguments to support any theory of the order in which the different books were composed. Gertrude Hirst, *Notes on Juvenal* I., III., VI., X. On I. 1. 13 calls attention to *Georgics* III. 3 sqq. as a passage very similar in general construction; on III. points out some unnoticed instances of symmetrical arrangement; defends *Venusinam* in VI. 167 by suggesting that the *u* is here long; in X. 54 defends *petuntur* by the 'argument from symmetry.'

Bodleian Quarterly. IV. 43. 1924.

E. Lobel on Pap. Oxy. 865, which should read, ἀπολείπ[· ἐν Δήμῳ δια[. . .] ὑπὸ ὕδρον τὸ σκέλ[ος, τοῦ στρα]τεύματος ἡγεῖτο Μ[έδων Ὀιλέ]ως νόθος υἱός · ὥστ[ερον δὲ με]τάπεμπος ἐγέν[ετο Φιλοκτῆ]της κατὰ μάντειαν χρησαμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. . . . It therefore becomes unnecessary to refer the fragment to a 'lost work dealing with Sicilian history.'

Classical Philology. XIX. 3. July, 1924.

A. B. West, *Pericles' Political Heirs*, II. W. continues his account of Athenian politics down to the peace of 421 B.C., and seeks to show that Nicias steadily aimed at such a peace as Pericles would have approved. W. L. Westermann, *Account of Lamp Oil from the Estate of Apollonius*. W. publishes the text of Cornell Papyrus No. 1, and adds a detailed commentary, a translation, and a general interpretation. The papyrus shows that seasonal movements of agricultural labour over a wide area were a feature of Hellenistic times, and sheds new light on the early participation of cultured Hellenes in the cults of Isis and Serapis. H. M. Hubbell, *Chrysostom and Rhetoric*. An examination of the seven homilies of Chrysostom on St. Paul shows them to belong to the class described by the rhetoricians as λαλιαί, or informal talks. The influence of the diatribe appears in the use of the second person singular, and of φησί to mark the words of an imaginary interlocutor. M. E. Deutsch shows that the association of three triumphs with Pompey was very common, and that, being celebrated over three continents, they readily suggested the conception of P. as the conqueror of the world. P. Shorey questions Vinogradoff's interpretation, in

his *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, of Aristotle's Universal Justice, and Vinogradoff replies briefly. C. S. Northup would connect Belion, a name ascribed by Strabo to a Portuguese river, with the Celtic god *Beli*. L. H. Gray refers to Professor Fraser's view of the original structure of Saturnian verse.

XIX. 4. October, 1924.

A. Shewan, *Asteris and the Voyage of Telemachus*. S. argues that Asteris is Daskalio, and not Arcoudi. If ἐν πορθμῷ means 'in the strait,' the words are not true of Arcoudi, nor are the descriptions πετρήεσσα and οὐ μεγάλη. Positive evidence in favour of Daskalio is quoted from Strabo and Paulatos. C. H. Moore, *Latin Exercises from a Greek Schoolroom*. M. quotes and comments upon fragments of papyri, which contain exercises in the learning of Latin. They are Greek vocabularies of Latin words (*P. Oxy.* 1099, *P. Ryl.* 61), excerpts from the *Aeneid* (*P.S.I.* 21), and what appears to be a schoolboy's attempt to restate the substance of *Aeneid* I. 477-93 in the same number of verses of his own (*P.S.I.* 142). T. Frank, *Roman Census Statistics from 225 to 28 B.C.* F. sets himself to show that the figures given in our sources should be accepted. The low figures of the years 209 and 194 can be explained on historical grounds. W. Rhys Roberts, *References to Plato in Aristotle's Rhetoric*. R. suggests that in the opening chapters A. has deliberately inserted reminiscences of the *Gorgias*. H. C. Nutting, *Cicero, Tusculan Disputations* I: 74. N. points out the difficulty of distinguishing in this work between careless composition, due to Cicero's state of mind, and later incorporation of marginal comments. In I. 74 he would regard *leges enim utant* as a marginal gloss. G. Smith, *Dicasts in the Ephetic Courts*. S. concludes that the reorganization of the ephetic courts at Athens and the substitution of dicasts for ephetae took place before 409-8. R. J. Bonner, *Administration of Justice under Pisistratus*. Pisistratus, by appointing rural justices to arbitrate, contributed to Athenian practice the feature of public arbitration. C. H. Moore discusses the period of twenty years for which the *taurobolium* was efficacious. C. Murley shows that φέρημα in Pausanias' description of the Atlas metope at Olympia refers not to the globe but to the apples. H. G. Robertson criticizes attempts to emend Antiphon V. 78. P. Shorey would read αὐτῷ for αὐτό in Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1075b 7, and οἰκίας for οἰκίας in the second hypothesis of Euripides' *Orestes*. A. C. Schlesinger shows that tradition represents Draco not only as the severe legislator, but also as a lawgiver of high excellence.

Mnemosyne. LII. 4. 1924.

H. J. Rose, writing on the Terminalia, the Regifugium, and the intercalary month, agrees with C. T. Merrill in holding that the Terminalia originally marked the end of the year. According to M. the ancients naturally intercalated after that festival (before beginning the new year), but later on they found it necessary to add five days more to complete the lunar year. R., agreeing that the year originally ended on the day of the Terminalia, thinks that the primitive Romans began their year 'when the weather seemed suitable for agriculture,' and ended it at the beginning of winter. There was an interval of some sixty days before the new year. These days, on which one could not work in the fields, were devoted largely to religious rites and festivals. When the calendar was improved it was felt that some interval must be left between one year and the next for performing expiatory ceremonies, and in particular the Regifugium. Hence the 'five days.' J. van Ijzeren, *Archilochus Eratostheni comparatus*, translates a passage from the περὶ ὕψους, in the course of which the *Erigone* of Eratosthenes is compared with Archilochus. As the point of the comparison is not obvious, van I. considers first whether the reading 'Archilochus' is correct; having decided that it is, he next gives a sketch of the plot of the *Erigone* (following Maass). To the question what in Archilochus is

comparable to this, he suggests the *Iobacchi*, though with some doubt owing to the scantiness of the material. L. Rank contributes the first of a series of articles in which he proposes to offer 'various observations and conjectures on various passages in the Donatean and pseudo-Donatean commentaries, to add some observations on Eugraphius' comment, and to correct some errors in the edition of Wessner. In the present article he discusses (*inter alia*) the famous canon of Sedigitus. Ign. Errandonea concludes his contributions entitled *Sophoclei Chori Persona Tragica*. After having discussed (in his previous articles) the attitude and behaviour of the chorus in each of the seven plays of Sophocles, he now gives some general conclusions. The chorus is a true actor, but differs much from the rest of the actors, just as it differs from a spectator. Scarcely ever can the chorus effect anything by personal action . . . in general, as Aristotle has said, εὐνοίαν . . . μόνον παρέχεται οἷς πάρεστιν. P. H. Damsté has critical notes on Propertius III.; C. Brakman on Firmicus. J. A. Fitzherbert has short notes on Plato, *Parm.* 141d, and Thuc. VII. 13. 2. This number also contains a satire entitled *Vita* by the late J. J. Hartman.

Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung. I. I. 1925.
[This is a continuation of the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* in a new form, abandoning the sharp division and separate pagination of the two sections of each issue.]

A. Tumarkin, *Die Einheit des Platonischen Phädrus*. A detailed analysis of the *Phaedrus*, designed to prove the carefully planned unity of the whole dialogue. O. Schroeder, *Aristoteles als Dichter*. An appreciative discussion of the poems concerned with Hermias of Atarneus, illustrated by Didymus on Demosthenes. E. Norden, *Dreieck. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Fremdwörtergebrauchs im Altertum*. Starting with Germanicus, *Aratea*, Frag. VI., where he defends the MS. reading, N. discusses the various views held at Rome regarding the propriety of imitating Greek word-formation, borrowing Greek words, etc., and argues that this problem is only one aspect of the wider question of the Roman attitude towards the whole Greek culture.

Philological Quarterly (Iowa). III. 4. 1924.

M. E. Deutsch, *The Apparatus of Caesar's Triumphs*. Save in the case of the Gallic triumph there was a direct relation between the material used (e.g. ivory, citrus) and the conquered countries. E. G. Cox, *Classical Traditions in Medieval Irish Literature*.

IV. 1. 1925.

A. S. Cook publishes Pilatus' Latin version of the seventh book of the *Odyssey* (A.D. 1360), used by Petrarch and so (indirectly) by Chaucer in the *Clerk's Tale*. A. M. Ellis, *Horace's Influence on Dryden*.

Philologus. LXXIX. 4. 1924.

T. Stifter, *Das wernischesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dihärese*. S. criticizes the extensions of W.'s Law by Sommer and Meister. Bekker was correct in saying that the poets avoid spondee before Bucolic Diaeresis. Consequently, no artificially created dactylic form in this place of the verse proves that the poet is avoiding lengthening by position. He may have been merely avoiding a spondee. F. Bickel, *Neupythagoreische Kosmologie bei den Römern*. As against Hoffmann and Mühl, B. claims that Neo-Pythagorean rather than Poseidonian influence lies behind Roman doctrine, more particularly in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II. 1 sqq. Incidentally he corrects

Boll's interpretation of Manilius I. 515 sqq., and reads in v. 517, *in uariam exundat faciem per saecula pontos*. O. Crusius† and R. Herzog, *Der Traum des Herondas*. Crusius' posthumous essay deals with Herondas generally and Mime 8 in particular, and thus introduces Herzog's detailed consideration of the latter. Herzog gives text, apparatus, full commentary. The Dream and its interpretation represent Herondas' answer to the Coan-Alexandrian clique which had criticized his verse. The dreamer is H. himself; the *νεανίας* is Dionysus (patron of poetry in this age); the *γέρων* is perhaps Philetas of Cos. Herzog also examines H.'s relations with Theocritus and Callimachus. L. Gurlitt, *Testamentum porcelli*. For *vixoribus capitinas* read *pictoribus capillinas* (sc. *saetas*).

LXXX. 1. 1924.

R. Kerber, *Hölderlins Verhältnis zu Homer*. W. Schmid, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und seine Bedeutung für die Datierung der Ilias*. Builds on Niese's view. The basis of the *Catalogue* is a geographical poem, written possibly in Boeotia. The author of the *Cypria* took this over to give geographical detail to the assembly of heroes at Aulis. Between 600-560 B.C. an Attic rhapsode transferred the episode from the *Cypria* to the *Iliad*, altering and interpolating for political and artistic reasons. K. Rupprecht, *Apostolis Eudem und Suidas*. A polemic against Frau Adler concerning her review of R.'s book with above title. F. Wilhelm surveys the story of the pious brothers of Catina, and gives a new reference to the legend in Σ on Greg. Naz. J. Schnetz claims that Rigilinus, whose verses are cited by the Ravenna geographer, was a real person, and probably a Lombard. He suggests etymologies for the name.

LXXX. 2. 1924.

H. Steiger, *Euripides, ein antiker Ibsen?* The author maintains his view, as against Wilamowitz and Petersen, that question is to be answered affirmatively. K. Latte, *Glossographika*. (i.) L. claims that the collection of glosses in the Florence MS. (= Laurent 58, 19, fol. 188r-191r) comes from Hesychius-Diogenian. Excerpts were made by a Byzantine to show how various dialects contributed to Homeric vocabulary. Investigation proves that the assignment to dialects is generally either right or at least probable; it was therefore taken simultaneously with the glosses from H.-D. (ii.) L. attempts to estimate value of explanations of dialect-glosses in Homeric Scholia. Information therein contained must go back to local antiquarians writing in the fourth and third centuries B.C. (iii.) A detailed survey of Hellenistic Glossography. O. Crusius,† *Lobon und seine Verwandten*. An account of L.'s activities as a literary forger. L. meant his work as a caricature of serious Alexandrian scholarship. J. H. van Haeringen, *Zur Frage des Pisonerbriefes*. H. claims that comparison with *Epp.* II. 1 shows that in the *Ars Poetica*, from l. 323 on, Horace is dealing not with drama, but with poetry intended for reading. F. Scheidweiler discusses three passages in Petronius—viz. (i.) the situation in c. 15, (ii.) the time-difficulties of the *Cena* (c. 26), (iii.) the riddle in c. 58, agreeing with Blümner that the *gnomon* is meant. Th. Stiffler proposes to read in Menander, *Heros* V. 3 (for papyrus επιτροφω) ἐνι τροφῷ. K. Rupprecht defends the text in Philemon, Fr. 2 (Kock), and claims that this use of πῶς (practically = interjection) has been overlooked. K. Münscher examines the metre of the Christian hymn (Oxy. Pap., No. 1786) and finds it anapaestic. A. Klotz describes and collates two double pages of MS. of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* (Books XX. and XXVIII.), found in Dresden, 1902-3. N. Wecklein discusses the *parodos* in *Septem contra Thebas*. H. Fränkel claims that Marc. Aurel. IV. 49, 2-5, is really taken from a lost book of Arrian's *Epictetus*. F. Zimmermann, in Chariton II. 2, 1, proposes to read, Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς [καὶ] ἐνθάδε νόμιζε σοὺς. F. Eckstein claims that *apocalare* or *apocularare* in Petronius is a Latin form of ἀποχαλάω.

Rheinisches Museum. LXXIII. 4. 1924. [N.B. Parts I.-III. were published in 1920. The former editor, A. Brinkmann, died in July, 1923, and an obituary notice is published in the present number. The present editor is F. Marx.]

†A. Brinkmann, *Die Meteorologie Arrians*. An elaborate analysis of forms and usages which supports the identification of the author with the historian and the attribution to the second century A.D. (conclusion to follow). E. Howald, *Meleager und Achill*. Argues that an original Achilleis followed an earlier 'Wrath of Meleager' (see *Iliad* IX. 495 sqq.), with the necessary adaptations to suit the Trojan setting. Seeks to disentangle 'Urachilleis,' 'Patrokleius,' and other elements in the *Iliad*. E. Schwyzer, *Zu griechischen Inschriften* (continued from LXX. 426 sqq.). Restorations and interpretation of—5. *Defixiones* at Selinus; 6. ll. 17-20 of the great inscription of Pelasgiotic Larisa; 7. The Delphian inscription on the Phaselitans (*Mél. Nicole* 625-8). H. Schoene, *Hippokrates περὶ φαρμάκων*. Text and critical notes on this fragment from cod. Urbinae graec. 64, with old Latin translation and discussion of the meaning of φάρμακα. L. Radermacher, *Eustathius von Antiochien, Platon und Sophokles*. Evidence from submerged quotations in a polemical writing of Eustathius for text of Plato, *Rep.* II. 364B, read ἀγύρται δὲ [καὶ] μάντεις; Sophocles, *Phil.* 883, κάμπνουντ' = καὶ ἐμπνέοντα not ἀμπνέοντα, which is a doubtful form in Sophoclean trimeters (in *Trach.* 335 read ἐμμένειν); and *Phil.* 447-51. A. Funck, *De Euclione Plautino*. Discusses the character of Euclio in the *Aulularia*, and combats the views of Bonnet. F. Wilhelm, *Plutarchos περὶ ἡσυχίας*. On the subject matter and ideas of the fragment and its relation to earlier philosophy. F. Marx, *Critica hermeneutica*. Notes on Diphilus, fr. 42K, Porphyrius, *De abstin.* IV. 8, *C.I.L.* XIII. 705.

Wiener Blätter. II. 1923-4.

9. F. Glaeser, *Platos Pädagogik*. General sketch. M. Schuster, *Livius und Verdi's Aida*. Livy XXX. 12-15 (Sophoniba). G. Weicker, *Antike Gespenster* (continued). J. C. Ewald Falls, *Die Entdeckung der Menasstadt*. Account of C. M. Kaufmann's expedition to Karm abu mina. R. Sellheim, *Zum 100. Todestag F. A. Wolfs*. E. Sadée, *Die Abberufung des Germanicus aus Germanien*. From S.'s article in *Bonner Jahrb.* 124. Notices.

10. J. Voigt, *Paestum*. Descriptive. E. Vetter, *Achäische Grosskönige des 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in den hethitischen Keilschrifturkunden*. A summary of Forrer's views. R. Engel, *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche*. Translation of Ap. Met. IV. 28 sq. P. Barth, *Geschichtlicher Hintergrund und äussere Geschichte der Stoa*. Extracts from the author's book *Die Stoa*. H. Lamer, *Der Leuchtturm von Coruña*. The light that shone from Trajan's time to ours. Notices.

Wiener Studien. XLIII. 2. 1922-3.

L. Radermacher, *Zum Prolog der Εἰρήνη*. Textual. H. Gomperz, 'Heraklits Einheitslehre' von Alois Patin als Ausgangspunkt zum Verständnis Heraklits. The value of P. has been overlooked. G. discusses H. in general, and deals in detail with many of the fragments, which are printed with translations. J. Mesk, *Die Tendenz der Xenophontischen Anabasis*. A reply to Körte, Kappelmacher, and others in defence of Dürrbach's theory (*Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1893). X. wrote between 370 and 367 B.C. to justify his own conduct. K. Kunst, *Zur Samia des Menandros*. On the plot: a criticism of E. Wüst (*Philologus*, 1923). E. Kalinka, *Die Arbeitsweise des Rhetors Dionys. I*. A. Kappelmacher, *Zum Stil Catos in De re rustica*. Finds a regular arrangement of kola and kommata in the prologue. These, and the ditrochaic

clausulae, are not Greek, but due to the language of Roman religion. A. Lesky, *Die griechischen Pelopidendramen und Senecas Thyestes*. Begins with a long examination of evidence for the Sophoklean trilogy. This turns out not to be behind Seneca: Euripides is the source. J. Scharnagl, *Nachlese zur Textesgestaltung des Arnobianischen Conflictus, Psalmenkommentars und Praedestinatus*. III. A. Scheindler, *Zur Textkritik der Homerischen Gedichte*. I. A. Kappelmacher, *Xenophon und Isokrates*. I. is in debt to the *Anabasis*. Cp. *Paneg.* 145 and *An.* II. 4, 3; *Pan.* 144 and *An.* VII. 7, 23 (the number 6000). H. v. Arnim, *Zum Demadespapyrus*. Concluded. K. Kunst, *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται*. *In sinu* (e.g. Tac. *Hist.* III. 19) is no parallel as E. Schwyzer alleged (*Wackernagel-Festschrift*, p. 293). A. Kappelmacher, *Martial und Quintilian*. Q. disapproved of people with an outlook like M.'s in e.g. I. 15, 11 sq., II. 90. That is why M. left out Q. in I. 61, 7 sqq. E. Hauler, *Zu Fronto* S. 232, Z. 15 sq. (Naber). A fresh examination of the MS. shows the reading to have been *at nunc amisso nepote luctus mihi dolore filiae, dolore generi multiplicatur: meum motum pertuli, meorum luctum ferre nequeo*.

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XLII. 3-4 and Anzeiger. 1924.

E. Sievers finds in certain categories of words with full grade ablaut in first syllable (e.g. strong aorists) a prolongation of the initial consonant, accompanied by accentuation of the syllable itself, when a vowel has been lost before or after the initial consonant; gives numerous examples from chief (including modern) I.-Eu. languages. W. Porzig on the development of meaning in neuter formations in *-men/mn-* (e.g. Lat. *fulmen*); concludes that I.-Eu. used this suffix to denote 'Dinge, die geformt und krafterfüllt waren.' F. Specht, Lithuanian declension (especially acc. pl. of *o*-stems, with *-uns* becoming *-úos* ?), followed by a discussion of alleged examples of 'secondary nasalization' in Žemaitish dialect. H. Amman continues his studies of Homeric word order and constructions (position of verbs: 10. εἶλον, εἰλόμην; 11. αἰρέω, αἰρέομαι; 12. φέρω). F. Sommer, Lith. *brotaĩ* voc., not merely *-aĩ*, but also *-t-* (for *-l-*) due to analogy. A. Götze, Hittite *jugan*, 'yoke.' Borrowing from Skt. *yugam* (with change of *-m* to *-n*) will explain termination (*-an* instead of *-a*); cf. also Hitt. *jugaš* = 'yearly,' *dā-iugaš* = 'biennially,' Skt. *yuga* = 'epoch, generation.' E. Kieckers, Skt. *tatra vanē* (apposition), gives parallels from Estnian.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY-OCTOBER, 1925.

THE POLITICAL ELEMENT IN THE *HERACLEIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

I.

THE political situation in Hellas in the early part of 419 B.C. was extremely promising for the Athenians.

Alcibiades had succeeded in 420 in concluding an alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Elis, and although the Fifty years Truce of Nicias¹ had not yet been formally denounced² and the alliance with the Argives and their allies was purely defensive,³ yet the star of Lacedaemon was to all appearances on the wane. Alcibiades had brought off successfully his first great *coup* and had begun his ascent towards the principal place in the leadership of Athens.⁴

No doubt many of those who had been present in the Senate at the reception of the Lacedaemonian envoys in the early summer of the preceding year were still doubtful as to the wisdom of entering into an alliance which would almost certainly lead to the denouncing of the treaty of Nicias; but there could be no doubt that the immediate effect of the new alliance was to push back the frontiers of the Lacedaemonian confederacy almost to the gates of Sparta itself,⁵ and this result could not but be welcome to all patriotic Athenians. The fact, however, that the new alliance, with all the advantages that it brought to the Athenians, would probably mean, sooner or later, and rather sooner than later, the renewal of those hostilities with Lacedaemon which had already lasted for ten years was doubtless sufficient to make many Athenians unfavourably disposed towards it.

During the ten years' war that had preceded the welcome peace of Nicias, Athens had been by no means always successful, and besides promising a renewal of commercial activities the peace treaty seemed likely to put an end for a generation at least to the slaughter that had decimated so many Athenian families. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at if the alliance now entered into by Athens at the instigation of the young and headstrong Alcibiades was widely unpopular. To the supporters of Nicias in the city it was naturally anathema: it was a direct blow aimed at the efficacy of the treaty that represented the most successful political effort of their leader, and should it prove, as it appeared

¹ Thuc. V. 27.

² Thuc. V. 48.

⁵ Plut. *Alc.*, ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα περι-

³ Thuc. V. 47.

⁴ Thuc. V. 45.

γενέσθαι.

might well be the case, a wise measure in the end, would without doubt contribute to their leader's fall.

In fact Athens was not only divided at this time between the partisans of Nicias and Alcibiades as such, but between those who were tired of war and welcomed an opportunity of getting on with their daily business in safety and quiet and those who, notwithstanding the trials of the past ten years, still clung to the ideal of Athenian imperialism and aggrandizement even at the cost of carrying on another war.

At the time we are considering, the latter party had just made a bold bid for power, but it was still 'up to them to make good.'

No doubt many birds of ill omen in Athens, Argos, and elsewhere were at once ready to prophesy the disaster that actually occurred during the summer of 418 at Mantinea; but such murmurings would at once have been attributed by the partisans of Alcibiades to the underhand methods of the agents of Nicias.

The position in Athens was one of expectancy on both sides, the peace faction hoping that the alliance with the Argives would prove a failure and lead to the removal of Alcibiades from the field of practical politics, while the opposing party had high hopes of soon bringing about the utter subjection of Lacedaemon and thus definitely ending the war by the consequent absolute supremacy of Athens over the whole of Hellas.

That the partisans of both sides aired their views pretty freely in the Agora and elsewhere may easily be believed, and arguments of all kinds for and against would be current in the mouth of the man in the street. Any public speech or important lawsuit or religious celebration in which allusion might probably be made to the political situation would be certain of a crowded audience, and if the speaker happened to be a clever and able one his words might give rise to considerable excitement and perhaps have some effect on the current of public opinion.

It is to this period that we shall find reason to assign the performance of the *Heracleidae* of Euripides; a play the apparent inconsistencies of which have been noted and pointed out by successive generations of scholars and have hitherto only been accounted for to a limited extent by the assumption of the presence of two or more large gaps in the text, which are supposed to have been caused in the course of its transmission from the fifth century B.C. to our own times.

It is extremely improbable that those dramatic and literary qualities which have caused the play to be appreciated by students and scholars of the last few centuries should have been the qualities that were most admired in it by the Athenian public on its first appearance on the stage: in fact, in disturbed periods such as times of war and stress literary excellence and dramatic perfection are less apt to touch an audience than references to contemporary events or debated social and religious questions.

Two plays of Euripides, which we have reason to believe were performed before the *Heracleidae*, offer at least one alternative to the usual interpretation;

the *Alcestis*¹ and the *Hippolytus*.² It appears highly probable that the alternative interpretations of these two plays of Euripides, confirmed as they are by the examination of numerous other works of the same author, may have been those especially appreciated by their original audiences.

In this respect we, having the lessons of the World War at hand, are perhaps more favourably placed than the learned scholars who did not know by experience what influence a long-continued and world-wide state of war could exert upon public feeling and especially upon the critical faculty in regard to literary work.

II.

Let us now look through the play as we have it and see how far the difficulties that have been met with in its interpretation may be surmounted without having recourse to the drastic methods of textual emendation which were so popular among scholars one or two centuries ago.

The play opens with a scene that must have been more than familiar to the Athenian theatre-goer of that time: suppliants are assembled round an altar in front of a temple, and one of these, a very old man, loses no time in telling us (in the best business-like manner of Euripidean prologues) who he and his youthful fellow-suppliants are, and why they are there. He himself is Iolaus, the children with him are the sons of his old comrade-in-arms, Heracles, whose daughters have taken sanctuary inside the temple with their grandmother, Alcmena. The eldest son, Hyllus, with his elder brothers, is away seeking assistance.

Being condemned to death in Argos by Eurystheus after the death of Heracles, they fled the land, but have hitherto found no peace, continually chivvied by the heralds of the Argive king, who have demanded them at the hands of every successive State to which they fled. So they have come to the Tetrapolis, trusting in the blood relationship of its kings with Heracles, and in their father's past indebtedness to Theseus.

A herald appears and attempts to drag the suppliants from the altar by force. At their cries, some old men of the neighbourhood run to the altar: the herald is persuaded to refer his case to Demophon, king of Attica, who now arrives upon the scene. Demophon refuses to extradite the suppliants, and very nearly comes to blows with the herald, who finally departs with threats of immediate military action on the part of his chief, Eurystheus.

Iolaus thanks Demophon for his generous behaviour in taking upon himself the enmity of Argos on behalf of the suppliant Heracleidae. Demophon's reply is prudent but decided. He will call a council of the citizens, will draw up his army; but first he will send out scouts to reconnoitre the force of the enemy, enquire the omens of the seers, and make sacrifice. He invites Iolaus and the other suppliants to accept his hospitality meanwhile. Iolaus refuses and Demophon departs leaving him at the altar.

¹ See A. W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 1-138.

² See J.A.S. in *C.R.*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 9.

After a choral ode on the insolence of Eurystheus and his herald, Demophon returns. He looks somewhat anxious. Iolaus questions him and learns that he has himself seen the Argive army and Eurystheus at their head. As far as he, Demophon, was concerned, all was going well—the city was in arms, the sacrifices ready—when, on enquiring of the seers, they all agreed in telling him that a maiden, daughter of a noble father, must be sacrificed. He refuses to sacrifice his own daughter or that of any one of his citizens; the city is in an extremely unsettled state, some being in favour of armed intervention and some against. He asks Iolaus to suggest some way out of the difficulty.

Iolaus bitterly remarks that in that case there is nothing for it but to fall into the hands of his enemies; yet he tries one more scheme: he suggests that Demophon should give *him* up instead of the Heracleidae. This idea Demophon refuses to entertain, as being impracticable, and tells him to think of something else.

At this juncture Macaria comes out of the temple, and on learning the position, offers herself as a willing sacrifice for the safety of her brothers and sisters. Iolaus is loud in her praise; but he asks her to call her sisters and to abide by the lot cast amongst them. Macaria firmly refuses this chance of life and only consents to—nay, insists upon—death of her own free will and choice. She begs Iolaus to accompany her and hold her in his arms when she dies. He says he cannot bear it. She then asks him to beg Demophon to allow her at least to breathe her last in the hands of women and not of men. Demophon here interrupts to assure her that it shall be so, speaks a few brief words of praise, and then tells her to speak her last to the old man and her brethren if she wishes. She bids them good-bye and departs.

Thus far the action of the play is swift and homogeneous. Few tragedies of Euripides, indeed, present such a close sequel of dramatic incident as the lines we have so far examined. What follows is, however, a very different affair.

After the stasimon, enter a servant. He tells us he is a vassal of Hyllus and bearer of good news. Iolaus calls Alcmena out from the temple. She comes, but at first takes the servant for a herald of Eurystheus. Iolaus explains, and she welcomes the servant, who proceeds to recount that Hyllus is at hand with numerous allies, his army drawn up ready for battle against Eurystheus. Iolaus enquires whether the Athenian chieftains know this. The servant assures him that they do, that in fact Hyllus' force is even now forming its left wing.

This intelligence has a wonderful effect on the old man; he insists on going to the battlefield, orders the servant to bring him weapons and to lead him forth. This the servant does, with many misgivings, after trying in vain with Alcmena to dissuade the aged Iolaus, whose limbs scarce bear him, from joining in the fray.

Another stasimon and again a servant enters—this time, some would have it, a servant of Alcmena, and not the man of the previous epeisodion. He

says he brings Alcmena good news, for the enemy is defeated. What he actually says is: "We are victorious over the enemy." Alcmena naturally welcomes this news, but asks anxiously:

φόβος γὰρ εἴ μοι ζῶσιν οὗς ἐγὼ θέλω,

to which the man replies:

ζῶσιν· μέγιστον γ' εὐκλεεῖς κατὰ στρατόν,

and proceeds to give an account of the battle; how Hyllus called Eurystheus to single combat, but he would not come; how, then, the seers

ἀφίεσαν

λαιμῶν βροτείων εὐθύς οὔριον φόνον.

how the king of the Athenians addressed the army as a noble-born leader should—

ὦ ξυμπολῖται, τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ
καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ, νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεῶν.

and the other called on his troops not to put Argos to shame; how the armies clashed. "At first," says he, "the repeated blows of the Argive spear brake us asunder," but then the tide of battle turned again; how many fell;

ἦν δὲ τοῦ κελεύσματος
ᾧ τὰς Αθήνας, ᾧ τὸν Ἀργείων γύην
σπείροντες, οὐκ ἀρήξετ' αἰσχύνῃν πόλει;

and, at last, he says: "We put the Argive army to flight." Then Iolaus, seeing Hyllus go by in his chariot, asked to be allowed to mount the car and dashed off in pursuit of Eurystheus.

Now the servant says that up to this point in his narrative he has only related what he himself has seen, but now he is going to speak only from hearsay: a miracle, they say, occurred, for as Iolaus prayed aloud that his youth might be restored to him, if even only for this one day, two bright stars shone out upon the yoke of the chariot, hiding the car in a dark cloud, from which the aged charioteer presently emerged miraculously rejuvenated! He has captured Eurystheus, who is even now in bonds. Verily no man may be called fortunate until his dying day, such be the chances that befall the great!

Alcmena is overjoyed at the news, but asks why Iolaus did not slay his enemy on the spot. The servant tells her it was that she might see him and have him in her power, and in fact, after a choral ode in glorification of the deified Heracles, Eurystheus appears—under guard.

A Messenger, assumed by some to be again a servant of Alcmena on the strength of his opening *δέσποινα*, says he has brought Eurystheus for Alcmena to dispose of. A violent burst of anger from her ends in a threat of immediate death to Eurystheus. But here someone intervenes, saying (l. 961):

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνυστὸν τόνδε σοι κατακτανεῖν.

The MSS. and older edd. attribute this line to the Chorus, later editors to the 'servant.'

The angry reply (l. 962),

ἄλλως ἄρ' αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον εἴλομεν,

is attributed by the MSS. and older edd. to the Messenger, by later editors to Alcmena.

In the ensuing dialogue the speaker of l. 961 insists that Eurystheus, being a prisoner of war, cannot, according to Athenian law, be slain; while the speaker of l. 962 with equal vehemence upholds the opposite opinion. At last Alcmena says she will herself slay him. Eurystheus makes a very frank and manly statement in his own defence, and the Chorus urge Alcmena to let him go. But she meanwhile has thought of a means of freeing Athens from blame in the matter of his death: she will slay him, and then deliver up his body to the Athenians! Eurystheus again speaks, this time to give the Athenians the prophecy that has served to assign a date to the play. Alcmena urges her minions to take him away to the slaughter and then throw his body to the dogs, which they do with the full approval of the Chorus. And the play is at an end.

When we consider the utter absence of any lament for, or even reference to, the presumed fate of Macaria in the latter part of the play, it is hardly to be wondered at that critics have sought an obvious explanation in the possible loss of a large and important part of the play itself, which should originally have contained a recital (by yet another Messenger!) of Macaria's sacrifice.

Before resorting to such a violent remedy, let us see if we may not perhaps find a solution to the problem in the play as it stands.

The passage (ll. 823-842) with the King of Athens' call to arms and the cry of the combatants is well calculated to give a careless reader or hearer the impression that the Athenians in this play, as in the traditional legend, actually join battle with the forces of Eurystheus, but on closer examination it will be seen that such an event is nowhere explicitly stated to have taken place. On the contrary, the distinction is very clearly drawn by the Servant (follower of Hyllus, who speaks ll. 799-866) between 'Us'—i.e. the Heracleid Allies—and 'the King of the Athenians.'

Demophon and Eurystheus have no wish to fight one another (ll. 264-265), and there is no reason inherent in this play why we should assume that Eurystheus actually attacks Demophon's army; and this being the case, we may well believe he would not have felt himself bound to intervene.¹

Demophon, as soon as he had seen the Argive army, realized that a civil war was probable if he fought, as Copreus had told him;² he then 'worked

¹ Ll. 826-827, ἀρκέσαι = defend.

² Ll. 165 sq. This argument is really a very powerful one: for a king (a tragedy king, always democratic and constitutional as befits a ruler of free Athens) to incur the responsibility of a war on behalf of third parties was a tricky business, unless he had the people's entire consent. Compare Pelasgus' hesitation in Aesch.

Suppl., l. 313 (341). Demophon had been roused to anger by the behaviour of Copreus, and had spoken (and acted) as arrogantly as he; but when he had had time to cool down, and had seen the Argive army face to face, he was much less violent! The analogy of such a situation with that at Athens in the early part of 419 B.C. is fairly evident.

the oracle' in order to avoid his obligation if possible (ll. 390 sqq.). This scheme failed owing to Macaria's generosity; but, nevertheless, Demophon could not afford the risk. Iolaus realizes this, and is unenthusiastic (ll. 602-603). If he believed those oracles he would feel safe at once, and rejoice accordingly, though sorrowing for Macaria; instead of which he knows Demophon will not fight, but is uncertain what he will do with Macaria! But when Hyllus' servant comes and tells him Hyllus has arrived with many allies, *that* has a very different effect upon him (l. 640 and the excitement of ll. 666 sqq.): he now thinks Demophon may perhaps risk it—and he does, in fact, go so far as to bring out his troops in battle array. Now, at last, Iolaus knows there is going to be fighting: he wants to go there; and go he does.

The messenger who brings in Eurystheus is not an Athenian—he is a Heracleid ally (see l. 962)! The other servant has incidentally already told Alcmena that her loved ones are alive (l. 792), hence we must suppose Macaria to be alive too; nor is there any reason for her to be otherwise if the Athenian forces have not joined in the battle, and her sacrifice was therefore not called for. When the victory has been gained Hyllus and Iolaus raise the trophy (ll. 936-937) without Demophon. Eurystheus expressly states that Athens *ἀφῆκε* him, 'let him alone,' and for this he is duly grateful (ll. 1026 sq.).

The behaviour of Athens towards Argos in this play thus appears to be just what one would expect in 419 B.C.—by no means hostile, though prepared to ward off attack.

There remains the difficulty of the word *βοτείων* at l. 822.

Taken by itself, the reference appears to be to human sacrifices offered before giving battle,¹ apparently by the Argive army.²

Taken in conjunction with the preceding conduct of Macaria, it appears to refer to her sacrifice, and has been interpreted in this sense by many scholars, most of whom, however, have expressed surprise at this very strange and casual form of reference to such an event, and have therefore tried to set matters straight by emendation and conjecture.

Without quoting the numerous scholars that have contributed to the discussion of this question, we may note Dr. Pearson's remark³ that Macaria cannot be meant, since Demophon had promised that she should breathe her last in the arms of women and not of men. Also, we may remark, the traditional legend made Macaria slay herself, and not be slain by others,⁴ though in a Euripidean drama this is not such a serious consideration.

The objection that human sacrifice was practically, if not entirely, unknown in historic Greece is hardly tenable. Plutarch mentions a case that occurred

¹ Brodeau's note *ad loc.* in the Oporinus (Basle) Euripides of 1562, p. 740, reads as follows: 'Nemo id si factum est, miretur, cum nulla olim gens fuerit, quae humana uictima diis sacra non fecerit.'

² *Euripides*, ed. Paley, London, 1872, Vol. I.²,

p. 374: 'Besides, the sacrifices meant seem rather to be those of the Argive army . . . mentioned at 673.'

³ The *Heraclidae*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 118.

⁴ E.g. Schol. *Ar. Eq.* 1151; Paus. I. xxxii. 6 Zenob. *Protr.* II. 61.

as late as his own time;¹ and it is more than probable that in the Persian and Peloponnesian wars such *σφάγια*, if not publicly recognized, were at all events occasionally winked at in view of the magnitude of the issues involved.

It is therefore quite conceivable that the human sacrifices mentioned are in no way to be connected with the offer of Macaria, who may quite well not have been sacrificed at all as far as our play is concerned, but refer to human sacrifices offered before battle to propitiate the gods, and perhaps especially the Argive Hera.²

As to the dialogue (ll. 961 sqq.), it may be sufficient for us to note that the speaker of l. 961 is very sure of his Athenian law and usage; while the speaker of l. 962 is most violent in support of the point of view of Hyllus and the Heracleidae. This may permit us to accept the MS. tradition, and attribute l. 961 to the leader of the Chorus of elderly Marathonian (and hence Athenian) subjects, and l. 962 to the Messenger, servant of Alcmena. Alcmena herself thus first enters the dialogue at l. 973 to solve the difficulty of the other two as to how Eurystheus is to meet his just fate.

III.

The question of the date of the *Heracleidae* has been discussed by practically every scholar who has contributed to our knowledge of the works of Euripides, and until fairly recently each successive research led to a different conclusion. At present, however, it is pretty generally admitted that Wilamowitz is right in assigning to our play a date between 429 and 427 B.C.³

The reasons that induce this scholar to assign this date to our play are as follows:

1. That 'Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1160 = *Heracleidae* 1006.'
2. That a scholium to *Eq.* 214 states that that verse is a parody of one that occurs in the *Heracleidae*.
3. That metrical reasons lead one to assign to this play a date between 430 and 425, not too distant from that of the *Hippolytus*.
4. That in view of the prophecy of Eurystheus in the concluding scene of the play this could not have been performed after the year 427, in which the Lacedaemonians laid waste the whole of Attica including the Tetrapolis, which they had spared in their invasion of the summer of 430.

Now, as a matter of fact, the verse quoted from the *Wasps*, though undoubtedly similar to line 1006 of the *Heracleidae*, is not by any means identical. The line of our play quoted here runs—

ἐχθροῦ λέοντος δυσμενῇ βλαστήματα

while the line of Aristophanes runs—

ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῇ καττύματα.

¹ *Quaest. Graec.* 38.

² Compare J. L. Myres in *J.H.S.* XXXVII. 197: Attic tragedy is to be referred to 'an age in which, as the tragedians and their audience

believed, human sacrifices and substituted victims were not regarded as anything out of the common.'

³ *Anal. Eur.*, p. 152.

The Scholiast does not mention this as a case of parody, nor does there appear to be sufficient reason for assuming it to be so.

A somewhat similar case occurs at l. 523 of the *Medea*,

ἀλλ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸν οἰακοστρόφον,

which is almost identical with Aesch. *Sept.* 62 :

σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος.

Here, also, the scholiast does not draw attention to the similarity, and while some commentators consider that there is a definite connection¹ between the two passages, others are satisfied with saying that the coincidence may be due to accident.²

The scholium on *Eq.* 214, to which reference is made, is absent in the *Codex Ravennas*. The verse to which it refers does not in the least degree resemble any line in the *Heracleidae* as the play now stands, and Dindorf gives it as his opinion that the scholiast was mistaken in naming this play.³ The fact that the missing line may be attributed to one of the two generally recognized lacunae in the text is certainly a gallant attempt to vindicate the accuracy of our scholiast in a case where appearances are distinctly against him; we may note, however, that he⁴ is apparently guilty of less easily defensible chronological errors at ll. 237 and 791 (see Palmer's notes in Dindorf's edition).

As to the metrical question the researches of Alfred Church⁵ lead him to conclude that the figures give a certain support to Müller's suggestion of the date 421 for our play.

As to the invasions of Attica which occurred prior to the peace of Nicias, it is a notable fact that during this first period of the war the Argives were neutral,⁶ and therefore did not take part in the actions against Athens. It is also worth noticing that the battle that takes place in the drama between the allies of Hyllus and the Argives is not a battle between Athens and the Argos of 419 B.C., since the Argives of the latter year were descended, not from Eurystheus,⁷ but from Hyllus.⁸ Entirely apart from the fact that, as we have seen in a preceding paragraph, there is no definite evidence in our play to the

¹ A. W. Verrall, note *ad loc.* in his edition of the *Septem*; and Valckenaer, note to his *Hippolytus*, l. 1226.

² Klotz, note *ad loc.* in his edition of the *Medea*; Paley, ditto.

³ Scholia in *Arist.*, Vol. II., p. 191 (Oxford, 1835).

⁴ 'The body of notes to each several play . . . declares itself a separate entity.' W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation*, pp. 23-25.

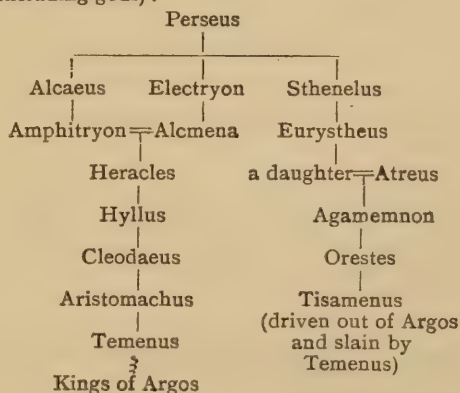
⁵ *C.R.* XIV., p. 438.

⁶ Thuc. V. 28.

⁷ As Decharme suggests, *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 198.

⁸ The traditional genealogy was as follows

(excluding gods):



effect that the Athenian army does really come into action, there is no reason for seeking for the date of this play, as Boeckh does,¹ in a period when Athens and Argos were at war;² in fact, the case appears to be rather the other way, since the ancestors of the 'present-day' Argives, the Heracleidae, receive in the play that bears their name the moral if not material support of Athens, and actually come to their heritage of the kingdom of Argos by their victory over Eurystheus in the battle which is fought on Attic soil. The many complimentary references to Argos in the course of the play,³ as well as the slighting reference to Sparta,⁴ also rather tend to indicate for the date of our play a period when Athens and Argos were either actually allied or about to enter into alliance with each other.⁵

The prophecy of Eurystheus in the concluding scene⁶ requires careful consideration.

If it is to be interpreted as we have reason to think, it may yet be found to give the key to the whole play in a manner very different from what has hitherto been considered to be the case.

We cannot imagine Euripides animated by any greater respect for oracles than was Thucydides;⁷ on the other hand his reverence for the orthodox deities of Olympus was notoriously conspicuous by its absence.⁸

Wilamowitz remarks that true prophecies are invariably produced after the event to which they refer,⁹ and no one will question that this is certainly the usual order in which such things take place; the fact of that ancient oracle of Loxias being quoted in the *Heracleidae* may therefore be taken as sufficient evidence that the play was performed after the Lacedaemonian invasion of 430, but (and this is an important point to note) it is not evidence that the play was performed before the invasion of 427, unless it was the intention of the author to credit the oracle with being a true one. Euripides is not in the habit of giving such credit to oracles, and his attitude is *a priori* far more likely to have been one of ironical scepticism. Is there evidence in favour of his actually having adopted this attitude on the present occasion? We venture to think there is.

Apart from a remark made by the Dioscuri in the *Electra* (l. 1347), where they say that they are going to save those that are in danger on the Sicilian sea (which is presumably a reference to the expedition of Nicias against Syracuse), I know of no oracle in the plays of Euripides which refers as plainly as that of Eurystheus to actual contemporary historical events. It is therefore interesting to examine this passage of the *Electra* to see whether per-

¹ *De trag. Gr.*, p. 190.

² Such a period would begin after the battle of Mantinea (summer of 418), and last until the building of the long walls of Argos was begun in the next year.

³ Ll. 340, 364, etc.

⁴ L. 741.

⁵ Because of this distinction between the tyrant Eurystheus and the rightful heirs of Argos and Mycenae (the *Heracleidae*), I cannot

agree with Decharme (*op. cit.*) that 'Argos n'était pas l'alliée d'Athènes,' though concurring that 'le choix d'un pareil sujet ne prouve point nécessairement que les deux cités fussent ennemies.'

⁶ Ll. 1026 sq.

⁷ II. 54.

⁸ Compare A. W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, passim, etc.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

chance the way in which it is treated may throw some light on the oracle of our play.

It is the occurrence of this remark of the Dioscuri that has induced editors to fix upon the year 413 as the date of the *Electra*, since if the remark had been absent there is small doubt that, notwithstanding certain other slighter discrepancies, the date of that play would have been held to coincide with that of the *Helen*. The reason for such coincidence would have been found in the speech of Castor in the *Electra* (ll. 1280 sqq.), which obviously prepares the audience for the fantastic tale of Helen. In fact, had it not been for the reference to Sicily in the last few lines of the play, it would certainly have been remarked that there would not be much point in thus 'preparing the audience' for a play that was to be performed only next year!

In the *Helen* the Twin Brethren make another observation—it also is in the epilogue¹—and make use of the same word 'save,' but this time to say that they would have saved if they could; but they couldn't! This remark, if taken in conjunction with the promise to save in the *Electra*, is eminently applicable to the year 412; but the application would hardly be so obvious if the *Electra* had been performed a year previously.

We may then be permitted to make the not wholly unreasonable supposition that the *Electra* was actually performed in 412 B.C., the first of the trilogy, of which the other two were the *Helen* and the *Andromeda*.² Anyhow, the prophecy of the Dioscuri is belied by the subsequent events: the Sicilian disaster did actually occur, and the Dioscuri in the *Helen* recognize that they, gods though they be, can do nothing against Fate or the joint will of the other gods.

Wilamowitz,³ relying on a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, conjectures that the *Heracleidae* was the first play of a trilogy, of which the other two were the *Cresphontes* and the *Temenus*.

The only extant fragment of any length that survives of the *Cresphontes* is the beautiful invocation to Peace,⁴ in which the poet prays that she may come to his city: an invocation peculiarly appropriate to the year 419, when, as we have seen, both parties in Athens had high hopes of soon attaining to such a condition.

Moreover, the poet says in this choral fragment,

δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
ὑπερβάλῃ με γῆρας,⁵

and Euripides in 419 was about sixty-two; the approach of old age would be just beginning to make itself felt.

Another and briefer fragment of the same play may, however, have a much more direct bearing on the date in the light of what we have seen to occur in the *Electra* and the *Helen*. I refer to Fr. 454 (Nauck), which runs as follows:

¹ L. 1658.

² Schol. *Ar. Thesm.*, l. 1012.

³ *Hermes* XI, 302.

⁴ Fr. 462 (Nauck).

⁵ Ll. 4-5.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἴκεῖ νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονὸς
ἐν τοῖσιν οὐκέτ' οὔσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν σθένει.

This fragment is quoted by Plutarch as being applied in the drama of *Cresphontes* to Heracles; but if the play immediately preceding it had happened to be marked by a prophecy like that of Eurystheus in the *Heracleidae*, in which Eurystheus promises to be the saviour of the land from the tomb in which he will be laid, and if that prophecy had been already belied before the play was performed, these verses would obviously present a striking analogy with the lines in the *Helen*, in which the Dioscuri confess their impotence to save. Both the remark of the Dioscuri about Sicily in the *Electra* and the prophecy of Eurystheus in the *Heracleidae* are by no means necessary to the action of the play—in fact, both might be termed dramatically irrelevant; they neither of them have any but the very slenderest connexion with the subject in hand.

Are we then to admit that they were introduced by Euripides with the express object of publishing his own conviction of the power of the gods to save and of the accuracy and truth of prophecy? In view of numerous recent studies on Euripides' point of view,¹ this theory would hardly appear to be tenable, whereas the exactly opposite one—namely, that Euripides introduced these remarks with the intention of letting his audience see that they were false—appears not improbable. Moreover, it is surely somewhat peculiar that two such prominent extant cases of reference to the future in the plays of Euripides—references with a contemporary historical application—should both have been belied by the actual course of events!

Another point that leads us to incline towards 419 as the date of the performance of the *Heracleidae* is the contemptuous reference to Trachis at l. 193.

Now, while it is an integral part of the legend that the sons of Heracles, in their search for safety, visited the place where their great father died, and where centuries later a city named after him was built, it is curious that exactly in the winter 420/419 this same city of Heraclea was attacked and reduced to a very low condition by the allies of Athens, and only saved later on from capture on the part of the Athenians by the timely intervention of the Boeotians.² The affair of Heraclea was complicated by internal local dissensions, the exact bearing of which it is far from easy to appreciate to-day; but we may take it that the circumstances would have been favourable for the capture of the city by the Athenians had they taken advantage of the opportunity, but probably Heraclea had been reduced to such a miserable condition that the Athenians did not think it worth while to do so. At any rate, mention of Trachis in a play performed in 419 would pleasantly remind Athenian hearers of a very recent victory of their allies.

J. A. SPRANGER.

¹ E.g. Verrall's essays; Norwood's *Riddle of the Bacchae*, etc.

² Thuc. V. 51.

SOME NOTES ON THE HERODAS PAPYRUS.

IN these days no edition of a classic, least of all of a 'new' classic, can claim to be final; and since the able editor of the Cambridge *Herodas* has found reason to reconsider some of his readings,¹ there is clearly room for an independent examination of the text. This paper embodies the result of several weeks' close study of the papyrus² in 1923 and 1924. To save space I have begun a note with a new line only where it is of more than usual interest. By the use of a letter of thicker type³ I mean that there are traces consistent with that letter, but not necessarily with that alone—which seems to me the only way by which Herodas can be saved from the restorer who regards doubtful letter-traces as equivalent to a gap.⁴ I begin with three passages which seem to me to stand in a class apart.

In the margin of col. 5, opposite l. 74 of Mime I, I found a tiny loose piece of papyrus containing parts of the letters AT. This, though lodged on its side, most of the scholars who had dealt with the text had taken to be *in situ* and right way up, a scholion on l. 74, some making it an abbreviation of *πόρνας*, another more chastely reading it as *ῥ*, but doubting 'whether it is not a mere discoloration of the papyrus'; Crusius alone suspected that it belonged elsewhere. It is now restored to its place as part of *κατάπλωσιν* in l. 68.

Numbered 3 in Glass 8, I found a fragment containing].EN[. This, which is 56 in Crusius and 26 in Headlam-Knox, and stands last in Nairn's pl. iii., had been mounted upside down, and read as ION or NON, but fits exactly where it has now been replaced, one or two letters' space before *λῶστων* in VIII. 39.

The final O of *κατέζω[στ]ο* in VIII. 30 is extant on the left of the next column.⁵

The remaining notes I give in their proper order:

I. 2 *τ[ις τῶν]* is too long, though *τ[* would be just possible; Blass's *μή τ[ις]* fits well, and I see part of H, viz. part of the top-half of the left down-stroke with a small piece of the cross-stroke; the preceding traces suit a M like that of *μεθ'* in V. 30; after H the traces suit T 3 *τις τη[ν]* 9 *θεος π[α]ρ'* (corr. to *προς*); P is certain 10 *[μήνε]s* 17 Headlam-Knox are too generous

¹ *The First Greek Anthologist, with Notes on Some Choliambic Fragments*, by A. D. Knox, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 26 sqq.; and *C.R.*, 1925, p. 13.

² *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 135.

³ The use of this thick type instead of the usual subscript dots is due to the exigencies of printing. It has been extended to the conjectural lettering enclosed within brackets. E and Ω

stand for Θ and ω of the papyrus.—EDD. C.Q.

⁴ Those who have worked at doubtful letters in papyri will realize how much the personal equation comes in. If my opinions on such points appear sometimes to be expressed too dogmatically, it is merely for the sake of brevity.

⁵ These and some other points of this paper were communicated to Mr. Knox in 1924.

with alternatives; **επισχ]**ε and **θαρσι τ]**ε I find both too long; before ε I see traces of τ; Bücheler's **σίγη τε** would seem to be right (Crusius' note is misleading; a low T is possible, especially after H) 18 **ε]**ι γαρ 19 **σιλλαινε** 23 *paraglyphus* above **εξ** 31 **χρηζης** 32 **αιδεω** 35 **θαι κριθηναι**; the first A fairly clear, the other thick letters doubtful 36 **γρυξασα]** (Headl.) fits; **λέξασα** too short, **εἰποῦσα** not used by H. 37 possible traces of **εχ]**ου[**σ]**α 39 Büch.'s **συντει]**νον does not fit, and there are possible traces of the **απ** of Weil's **πάπτηνον** 40 **το]**ν 41 Crusius' **ιλαρον]** fits; Blass's **καὶ ὄρη** might fit as **κωρη** or **χωρη** /

42 sqq. **ασ]**φάλης | **ἐκ νερτέρων** and **ἐκ τῶν κάτω γ'** are too short, and so is **ἀφελκύσων**; **τεθν]**ήξο[**με]**ν^κ**ου** is possible (for **ΟΥ** cf. I. 58, 72), though the traces are doubtful; Crusius' reading of l. 44 does not suit the traces; in l. 45 Headlam's **καταιγίσας ἔπνευσε** seems too short, and so does **ἐξ εὐδίας κατῆξε**; I suggest:

κεῖνος ἦν ἔλθη
τεθν]ήξο[**με]**ν **κοῦ** μηδὲ **εἰς ἀναστήση**
ἡμέας,

comparing for this **ΟΥ** I. 58 and 78; then in ll. 44-6, though I do not feel quite certain of **CY** in l. 44 or **K** in l. 45, I should follow Milne and Knox (*C.R.*) and continue ll. 46-7 thus:

ἄστατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις
ἄ[π]α[σιν] ἐλπίς.

In both these passages the supplements fit and the traces suit, but the latter are very doubtful; in l. 45 instead of **κ[** we might read **.]ο[** 47 **εστηκεῖ**, hardly **εστηκεῖν** 56 **καθόδωι** 59 **δωμα τ[έ]κνον**

64 I seem to see **ηδεω[ν]** **τευξη κ[αί]** **σ[οι]** (so Hd.).

74 **ΟΝΔΕ** is equally possible with **ΟCME** (for the **N** of **ON** cf. col. 15, l. 2) 79 **εκτριψον** | Scholion probably **κυ(λίκων) γέν(ος) εὐ[τελές** 81 **πιει[ν] αδρω**

82 In the latter part of this passage my reading of the traces, which, however, are very doubtful, supports Crusius; in the earlier part, where they are clearer, my conclusions partly support Blass (**πάμπαν**):

Γ. δείξον· οὐ τ[ι]¹ **γὰρ πάμπαν** | **πείσουσά σ' ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἔκητι τῶν ἱρῶν.**

Μ. ὦν οὐνεκέν μοι, Γυλλί, ὦνα[ο ἡ]δίστου.

Γ. ὅς σοῦ (*sic*: read **σεῦ**?) **γένειτο, μὰ τέκνον, πολὺς** (**Π** is clear) **[λή]ν[ω].**²

Gyllis, having failed in her attempt to win Metriche's favours for Gryllus, pretends that this was not why she came. 'Give me,' she says, 'the cup [of friendship]; for I didn't come by any means to persuade you, but simply'—what should we say?—'out of friendship, [because I thought you'd like to know of Gryllus' love]'; τὰ ἱερά are the oaths or bonds of sworn friendship, cf. the proverb **ἱερὸν συμβουλή**, Sch. Plat. *Theag.* 122b, ἐπὶ τῶν καθαρῶς καὶ

¹ The cross-stroke of **T** is prolonged through the **iota**, but the first down-stroke visible is that of the **Γ**, cf. 7. 38 n. below.

² Knox's reading (*C.R.*) does not seem to me to account so well for the traces.

ἀδόλως συμβουλευόντων. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν συμβουλευόντα μὴ τὸ ἴδιον σκοπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν οὐδενὸς ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν χρωμένων ἐστὶ κοινόν· ἐπειδὴ καταφεύγουσιν ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ θέλοντες συμβουλευέσθαι οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσήκει οὖν τοῖς συμβουλευόνουσιν ἀψευδεῖν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην συμβουλεύειν. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ἔπαινον φέρειν τῆς συμβούλης τὴν παροιμίαν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν θείαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιάρῳ. For the cup of friendship cf. L. and S. s.v. φιλοτήσιος. To this Metriche rejoins, 'Well, if that was your reason for coming, your trouble is well repaid,' lit. 'you have benefited of the sweetest at my hands'; and Gyllis, not to be outdone in politeness, cries—taking the neuter ἡδίστου as masculine, and referring ostensibly to the wine, but really to the friendship of which it is for the moment the symbol—'I only hope you may have plenty of such in your wine-vat, my child,' i.e. 'may find as good friends in others as I do in you.' She then continues of the wine, 'Good stuff this, by Demeter; Gyllis has never drunk such good wine as Metriche's.' 86 Μητ[ρί]χη[s ο]ἱ[ν]ου 87 owing to mismounting, Knox has apparently read the right-hand parts of K as E and missed the second Ω: I see πε[π]ωκεν κω 88 ασ[φα]λιζου δ[ε]; part of Δ is visible on the under-surface of the papyrus.

II. 1 sqq. In l. 5 the letter before περ was certainly Τ; in l. 6 the letters ωλυκον are certain; before them space favours Τ rather than Θ; after γάρ, ἄν is a little short, but possible;¹ in l. 8 Mr. Milne feels quite certain that we must read with Crusius οὗτ]ος μέτοικος, and agrees that we may revive Blass's τῆς λ]ηΐης above it;² in l. 6, after Θαλῆς μέν . . . ἐγὼ δέ, we must have the subject of the verb expressed; this gives us:

ἀλλ' <ε>ἰ ο]ὐ παρέξει Βάτταρόν [γ' ὁ π]ημήνας
 ὅσο]ν γε καὶ δ<ε>ἰ· τώλυκὸν γὰρ [ἄν] κλαύσαι
 τῆς λ]ηΐης ὁ μ<η> ἀστὸς ἦ ἄσ[τυ κ]αὶ χώρα,

'but whether' [dependent on κριταὶ ἐστε] 'the man who has wronged Battaros shall not pay the penalty he deserves';—here we must supply δίκην (or read ὅσο]ν, but δίκην seems to be necessary to the phrase, cf. Hdl.-Knox, pp. 71 fin.)—'for one that lives an alien in a properly constituted state shall bitterly rue his act of brigandage' (cf. l. 24); then with asyndeton, as in the Orators, begins the *narratio*; for ἄστυ καὶ χώρα, where καὶ must have been written small and close as in l. 6 and elsewhere, cf. Hdl.-Knox, pp. 72 fin.; this involves correcting περ to παρ, but the unfamiliarity of εἰ οὐ, though regular in an indirect question, might produce the corruption οὐπερ ἔξει; ἀλλ' εἰ would not be long enough nor account so well for the traces. For ll. 5-6 I have also thought of ἀλλ' εἰ] ὑπερέξει Βάτταρόν [γ' ὁ π]ημήνας· | ὅ γ' ο]ὐδέκε δ<ε>ἰ, 'but whether the man who has wronged Battaros shall prevail' (cf. Knox,

¹ The mounting here is still inaccurate, and has perhaps misled Mr. Knox (C.R.), whose supplements are rather too short—e.g. there would be room for his ἀστέων.

² For the form of the first H cf. III. 30; Mr.

Knox's (C.R.) μετ'] ἀξίης will hardly do; ja is just possible, but not jaξ; for this genitive with similar words cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 1, 388a; δμαστος = ὁμοπολίτης is very unlikely as early as H.; ὁ μαστός would not come in here.

C.R.)—‘a thing by no means right,’ or δ μ]ηδέκη ’δ<ε>ι ‘in a way such as was by no means right’; but Mr. Milne does not agree that these are possible readings of the traces; I cannot find room for Mr. Knox’s (C.R.) παντός 10 [νε]μ 11 τ corr. to δ or *vice versa*

13 sqq. As Mr. Knox now sees (C.R.) the space is too wide for ὦ[μ]ων in l. 14, and the letter before the first Ω is T not Π; the letter before Θ might be H, less likely A, K, Λ, M, X, hardly C or E; I favour H because I seem to see the corner between the cross-stroke and the right down-stroke; the word before χλαῖναν is εχι not ιχε; partly following the Cambridge edition, I think we must read:

κ<ε>ι μ]ή ἐστ’ ἀλ[η]θέα ταῦτα, το[ῦ ἡ]λίου δύντος

λελ[η]θέτω [σπ]ῶν,¹ ἄνδρες, ἡ[ν] ἔχ<ε>ι χλαῖναν,

15 κεῖ] γνώσεθ’ οἷφ’ προστάτ[η] τ[ε]θωρήγμαι.

‘(His champion is Mennes, and mine Aristophon; Mennes has won as a boxer, and Aristophon can still hug [i.e. in wrestling, cf. Poll. s.v. πάλη];) and if he [Thales] does not believe it, let him snatch his [Aristophon’s] cloak from his shoulders some evening on the sly, and I warrant he’ll find out what a fine breastplate my champion is to me.’ The χλαῖνα here is not necessarily that of l. 21; the perfect imperative active (besides ἵστω) is quoted in this person from Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Archimedes, and in the second person occurs rarely in poetry, cf. Kühner-Blass I. 2. 99; for the elision of γνώσεται cf. 4. 50; for cloak-snatching at night cf. e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 668, *Plut.* 930 16 ἐρεῖ] ταχ υμιν | εληλουθα 36 the ψ of ὑφήψεν is clear 37 βιηι 52 αλλην 55 ωκι has something illegible above it 56 ουδε with δ corrected to τ 57 οικις 59 ναυλον 60 εγω 67 τουτους 73 Φιλι[π]πος has CT over the second Π

78 I see λεο[ν]τ α[.]οιμ αν with λ[εον]θ over ο[ν]τ;² if we keep εἴη this will be, ‘As for valour, I would cheerfully . . . a lion if he were Thales’; what was the letter before οιμ? λέοντ’ ἄγχοιμ’ ἄν cannot have stood in the papyrus; there is not room for more than one letter before O, and that must have been a thin one; and the overwritten λ[εον]θ, where the Θ is clear, points to an interpretation or correction involving an initial aspirate below it; we must, I think, read ἀλοιμ’ ἄν from ἀλέω ‘to grind,’ used metaphorically ‘to drub,’ like ἀλοιάω in ll. 34 and 51, and suppose the corrector to have wanted to read ἔλοιμ’ ἄν³ and his overwritten E to have been lost in the gap; we must surely not change εἴη to εἴην 79 something is written over ΔEN, perhaps ΔAN or ’AN, i.e. ‘read οὐδ’ ἄν’;⁴ 95 what Knox sees as N over Ψ is, I think, part of that letter; the down-stroke of his N is not ink

III. 18 ουδεῖν (*sic*) 33 ιθι with H over the first iota, which is struck out 71 προσ struck out, not προ | over the Π of (the second) προς an apparent

¹ Mr. Knox’s latest suggestion (C.R.) ἐξελ[η]θέτω ἐ[χ]ων is, I think, open to these objections: I see no trace of E[, and the traces before ΩN suit Π rather than X, whose top right corner I should expect to see.

² O[] not Ω[].

³ Reading his archetype ελοιμ’ for ἀλοιην from ἀλισκομαι?

⁴ Was there an old alternative οὐ δῆ? ἄν and δῆ are often confused.

iota 74 ΩTE with T struck out, but CT not overwritten 84 εσχηκε was first written, not εσχηκεν

IV. 21 τον corr. to την 30 τογ in Knox's apparatus is a misprint 37 τις αυτην 38 over the second iota of εικονισμα I see ει, not ε 44 καρκινου 46 σε 50 εσσετ.η (sic) 52 I see καρδιηβαλλει with a dot over the second Λ, and over the E an O perhaps followed by traces of T or the like; another O correcting βαλ to βολ would be no longer visible 62 πύρᾱστον with P over TO; the letter before T is C rather than Γ (so Knox) 67 ανασιμος with ΛΛ over M, which the scribe began as Λ

V. 30 For the first O of ποδόψηστρον cf. the second O in l. 93; what comes after ἐμέ? I see και εμε κρη, or κη with the iota struck out (I cannot see Φ or Ψ here, and I feel sure that my κ is not χ, cf. the first κ in l. 42), and there are possible traces of ink (N ?) above the PH or IH; read

καὶ ἐμέ κνη ποδόψηστρον

'and you rub yourself on me as if I were a footwiper' 36 'the mark above the (second) E' of ψευδεα is H 49 ακηκουκάς (sic)

71 over the second Λ of ἀγκάλαις, if it is ink, which is doubtful (see similar marks in l. 70 above), I seem to see Λ rather than the apostrophe which Knox takes as a sign to distinguish ΛΛ or ΛΑ or ΛΛ from Μ; but of his parallels some, I think, if not all, disappear on close acquaintance; in λάθοις 3. 93 the 'apostrophe' is merely a mark in the texture; in κλαῦσαι 2. 6 it is a loose piece of papyrus; in Κύδιλλα 4. 48 the mark is doubtful; in 4. 41 we have to suppose ΛΛ' written by mistake for Λ'Λ; in 3. 62 the mark above the overwritten Λ is a dot marking erasure; 4. 63 does not help us; and in I. 28 the first Λ of παλαιστρον has two marks over it, the iota one, and TP one, all probably the traces of a correction 75 τον 80 the IN of εστιν was first written ΛΛ

VI. tit. φιλιαζουσαι 2 ανασταθεισα 10 χρ[ι]η 14 the mark over the T of ὑλακτέω is probably not ink 17 λισσομα[ι σ]ε 20 ειχεν 34 overwritten is ηδικηγρυξαι 65 εργ οκοι εστ εργα (O and I are fairly clear) 73 ανευρη[ις with C over H, i.e. 'correct εὔρης to εὔρησ<ε>ις'

90 The last word can hardly be read as Θαλλουν; it is apparently Θαμνην, and the gloss which stood over it and over part of the preceding word is N (correcting προκυκλιν to προκυκλιν) followed by θαμναιην,¹ i.e. τήν προκυκλίην Θάμνην corr. to τήν προκυκλιν Θαμναίην, cf. I. tit. 93 ω[μ]νυεν, not ω[μ]νυσεν 94 Kenyon's reading is clear; the word after γάρ cannot be read ἴσθι (Büch.) 99 ν[εο]σσο rather than ν[εο]ττο 100 αλεκτο[ρ]ι δεσ 101 πορθευ[σ]ι

VII. 1 The letter after τας is Γ or Ν, not Κ 2 διξαι

8-25 This passage needs particularly careful reconstruction. Besides the large fragment containing the ends of ll. 8-25, there are two small pieces with

¹ The slanting stroke from right to left, which probably not ink, makes the letter under E look like K or H, is

parts of ll. 8-10 and 22-25; these three fragments are all separated from one another and from the main papyrus by gaps of various widths, but can be placed partly by completing the M of μέζον in l. 10, by supplying the iota of ὕμιν in l. 25, and by completing καλῶς in l. 23, partly by the measurement of recurring wormholes.¹ The largest of the three fragments is exactly 5 mm. too far to the left in the facsimile: 8 εχ[ι α]νκαληι or εχ[ει ε]ν καληι I should correct to ἔχει ἐν κάλω, cf. Hesych. κάλιον· τὸ ξύλον ᾧ ἐδέοντο (the explanation has been transposed to the next gloss καλιός, cf. Herwerd. *Lex. Suppl.* s. καλον); κάλον in this sense seems to be a purely Doric form, and so might resist dialect-change as did καλόπους 'a shoemaker's last' in Attic; ἀγκάλη 'by the arm' is ungrammatical, and rightly rejected by Knox (now) 9 Κέρκω]ψ fits, κόλλο]ψ is too short 13 την[14 ἐξεσ[θ]ε Μητροι 15 πυργίδα | ὠδε [τὴν δ' ἄνω κινη]ν or [τὴν ἄνω κείνη]ν 17 ἀνωθ[εν 19 οἱγ[ε (Blass), not οἰσ[ε (Hdl.) 22 χ[ῶτλ σ]φηνι[σκ]οις (Kenyon) is rather long, but possible; there is just room for Knox's reading 23 κο[ύ τ]α 24 χε[ῖρ]ες

25 sqq. There is room, I think, for Πα[λλὰς] written closely, as these letters often are, cf. e.g. VI. 100; for its suitability see Headlam's note: the fragment containing the initial letters of most of ll. 24-34 has now been rightly placed by Knox as regards the large fragment containing the ends of col. 35, but as he does not give the exact position of the latter, it may not be superfluous for me to note that my measurements make its position in the facsimile 14 mm. too low and 20 mm. too far to the right;² the following suggestions, which of course owe something to previous work, fit the gaps:

- 25 τὸ χρώμα δ', οὕτως ὕμιν ἢ Πα[λλὰς] δοίη
 π[άντων ὅσων] περ ἱχανᾶσθ' ἐπαυρέσθαι,
 γ[υναῖκες, οὐδὲν ἄλ]λο τῷδ' ἴσον χρώμα
 κ[νάψεν κνάφος π]ω κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει·
 χ[θὲς οὖν στατήρα]ς τρεῖς ἔδωκε Κανδᾶδι
 30 Κ[έρδων ἐφ' ἐν τε] τοῦτο κῆτερον χρώμα·
 β[άζων δ' ἔγωγ' ὅμνυ]μι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔστ' ἱρὰ
 κῶ[σια πρὸς ὑμέας] τὴν ἀλλ[θε]ῖ[η]ν βάζειν·
 [ἐμῆς γὰρ ἐλκύσει] οὐδ' ὅσον ῥοπὴν ψεύδος
 [πλήστιγγος, ἦ] Κέρδωνι μὴ βίου ὄνησις
 35 Μ[υσῶν πλέ]ων γίνοιτο· καὶ χάριν πρὸς με
 [ἔχετέ τιν' ; οὐ γ]ὰρ ἀλλὰ μεζόνων ἦδη

¹ In placing any recurrent hole we must remember that this roll gets *thicker* with every revolution (the last man who read it before the worms got into it failed to roll it back again); the average addition to be made between cols. 15 and 31 works out at 2 mm., but of course the amount to be added itself gradually increases, and between cols. 28 and 31 it is more like 2½ mm.; so that at cols. 35-36 we should allow

2½ mm. or slightly over.

² This gives a rather wider gap than is required by Mr. Knox's latest suggestions; I think he cannot have allowed for the gradual increase of the distance between recurrent wormholes (*see above*); it should be noted that at l. 31 he is obliged to presume accidental omission in one of his alternatives, neither of which, to my mind, is satisfactory.

[οἱ βυρσοδέψαι] κερδέων ὀριγνῶνται
 [καὶ γλισχρότη] τι¹ τὰ ἔργα τῆς τέχνης ἡμέων
 [μειοῦσι · πῖ] συγγοῖ δὲ δειλαίην οἰζὺν
 40 [ἡθμοῖς] ἰν ἂν [τλ]έων νύκτα κῆμέρην θάλπω ·
 [τίς ἔσθ' ὃ]ς ἡμέων ἄχρι<ς> ἑσπέρης κάπτει
 [τὰ σῖτα ; κ]αὶ πρὸ[ς] ὄρθρον οὐ δοκέω τόσσον
 τὰ Μικίωνος θηρὶ εὐπ[ορεῖν] ὕπνου.

'And as for the colour—as I pray Pallas grant you all your desires, ladies—teazle never dressed a cloth to match it, nor even will painter's wax² ever make so fine a shade. Now only yesterday Kerdon gave Kandas three staters for this piece and one other—and what I say I swear to you by all that's sacred and profane is true, for not the smallest possible lie shall weigh down *my* balance, else may Kerdon's pleasure in life grow as small as the Mysians'—and do you thank me for it? Not you, and simply because the traders must needs go raising their prices and cheapening the work of our craft to fill their pockets, while a poor shoemaker like me warms his wretchedness by bailing with colanders day in day out. Why, there's not one of us gets a bite of food before evening; and as for sleep of a morning, Micion's cocks, I'm sure, get more than we.' In l. 28 for omission of augment cf. VIII. 73 | I write πω rather than κω to avoid the succession of κ's; P has καὶκ ποίου II. 28, though elsewhere κοί- 29 οὖν is resumptive 30 for ἐπί 'to get' cf. δανείζεσθαι ἐπὶ τόκον 35 P presumably had πλείων | ref. to such sayings as Μυσῶν λεία 42 τόσσον in this context 'so little' | τίς ἔσθ' ὃς ἡμέων = οὐδεὶς ἡμέων, hence the position of the genitive | H. uses the word ῥέω 'to strain' III. 33

44 sqq. The accepted reading οἰκέτας β]όσκω is a little too long for the gap and involves a clumsy connexion; for ὁτεύνεκα must be taken as 'that,' not 'because,' and as connecting Hdl.'s ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς with λέγω, which leaves τρεῖςκαίδεκα οἰκέτας βόσκω in the air; moreover H. does not use οἰκέτης elsewhere, though he uses δοῦλος or δούλη ten times; read

κοῦπω λέγω τρεῖςκαίδεκα [οὗς ἐγὼ β]όσκω
 ὁτεύνεκα ὧ γυναῖκες, ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς,

which, moreover, suits ll. 49 sqq. (see below)³ 47 the objection to Headlam's ἀψόφως is that the tail of the Φ would be visible and isn't; either ἀσφαλέως (sugg. Hdl.) or ἀφραδ<ε>ῖς (Crusius) would do; Φ varies considerably in width | for κοῦπω λέγω cf. οὐκ εἶρηκά πω Ar. Ran. 558

49 The subject of φασίν is general, and the sentence ends the long justification of his high prices; the drift is 'I might speak of my idle and greedy slaves (ll. 44 sqq.), but words, as the saying is, are at a discount; what's wanted is pence,' referring not only to the cost of keeping up his establishment, but to the rapacity of the tanners and his expenses generally 53 μοι

¹ The cross-stroke of T is prolonged through the iota, which is invisible; cf. note on I. 82 above.

² Encaustic, see Hdl.

³ For the 'trouble and expense' of keeping slaves cf. Plat. Rep. 465c.

σα[μβα]λουχιδας 54 Crusius' νοῦν is very unlikely; before the (second) N stands N or ΑΙ, and even if it were Υ there is hardly room before it for ΝΟ; the letter before ΑΛΙC could not be Τ, nor, *pace* Knox, Μ; Mr. Milne suggests that the C is a careless Γ, and would read πάλιν γεννηθείσας 'a new woman!' or perhaps a corruption of πάλιν γεμισθείσας; I prefer

δ<ε>ὶ κάλ' <ε>ὶς γέ[[ν]]νη θείσας (sc. τοὺς πόδας),

i.e. 'you really can't go home without trying on some pretty kinds' (cf. the next line); the traces seem to me to suit a slanting K (so Blass) even better than Π; this use of τίθημι would be natural in a shoemaker; γένη θείσας was corrupted to γεννηθείσας: for -νη cf. τείχη IV. 7, and ψευδεα corrected to ψευδη V. 36 58 βαυκιδε[s 73 εργα[λ]εια 84 δαψιλεων 85 κα[στ]ας; no traces, I think, before AC, nor, probably, after KA 87 της Αρτακηνης 88 αξουσι 89 πα—ντως (sic) 93 Κερδων 96 λιολεοσεω 99 φοιται 101 εχθ[α]ιρω 102 see next note

104 sqq. εἰ δ[έ] σοί γ' ἐστὶ χρεῖη | Knox's placing of ON is excellent, but his εὐλαβοῦ <δὲ> τῶν τριῶν ὄν[αρ] δοῦναι is open to these objections: ὄναρ is very difficult for μηδ' ὄναρ, it is not a satisfactory solution which makes Kerdon give baubons for nothing (cf. VI. 92, where one is a customer's 'order') and give three to one woman (or two women), and one feels the absence of a secondary object to δοῦναι; in l. 106 the papyrus has καίταυταυτακαίταυτηνμιν-επταδαρικων; I suggest:

εἰ δέ σοί γ' ἐστὶ χρεῖη,
φέρ' • εὐλαβοῦ<μαι> τῶν τριῶν ὄν[ω] δοῦναι,
καὶ ταῦτα ταύτῃ • τῇ, ὕμιν ἐπτά δαρείκων •
ἐκτητι Μητροῦς τῇσδε μηδὲν ἀντεῖπον.

That is, '(Eueteris offers five staters, but even if she offers four darics [s.v. l., see below], I won't let her have them, because she slanders my wife.) But if you want them, you may have them—I know better than to give one of the Three' [of Stesichorus] 'to a donkey' [i.e. let Eueteris have what she cannot appreciate, cast pearls before swine]—'There! they're yours for seven darics. I swear it's for Metro's sake I've let you have your wish.' For τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου, which were interpreted as strophe, antistrophe, and epode, cf. Suid. s.v., who adds 'when the ancients wanted to abuse an uncultivated man (ἄμουσόν τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον) they said that he didn't know even the three of Stesichorus'; and for the donkey in a similar connexion cf. the proverb ὄνος λύρας and Luc. Merc. Cond. 25 ὦν μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν φήσας παρείληφέ σε (the patron his tame philosopher), ὀλίγον αὐτῷ μέλει. τί γὰρ κοινόν, φασί, λύρα καὶ ὄνῳ; For καὶ joining a simile to its application, καὶ ταῦτα ταύτῃ, lit. 'and [I know better than] to give these to her,' cf. Theocr. II. 33 τὸ δ' Ἄρτεμι καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀἰδα | κινήσεις ἀδάμαντα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλο, i.e. the speaker's hard-hearted lover. There is another instance in a scholion, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. III. 650. 24. At first sight it seems a little strange to speak of giving one (or some) of the Three (strophe, antistrophe,

and epode) to anybody, but ἐκδοῦναι seems to have been used of a poet assigning his work to the performers, cf. Archytas ap. Ath. XIII. 600 sq. 'According to Chamaeleon, the originator of love-songs was Alcman, who was the first to give out to the [song-]schools (ἐκδοῦναι εἰς τὰς διατριβάς) song that was licentious in matters concerning women,' etc.; cf. Theophr. *Char.* XXX. 18 ἱμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι 'send his cloak to be cleaned.' The dropping of the ἐκ here may be reasonably ascribed to the necessities of the proverb's application | We have still to consider an important point. The price of 7 darics (= £7 14s.¹) is so much in excess not only of what Eueteris offers, 5 staters (= £4 4s. 8½d.), but of what K. says she shall not have the shoes for, 4 darics (= £4 8s. s.v. l.²), that it has been supposed that the corrupt line, 106, contains an offer of *two* pairs. A better solution would be, I think, to suppose with Headlam that the δαρικούς of l. 102 is corrupt, as the quantity would seem to indicate; Hdl.'s substitution of χρυσέους, however, will not help us. What the double-daric was called we do not know, but it must have had a name, and I suggest that we should not merely understand with some editors δαρικούς to mean double-darics, but for δαρικούς read διπλόους (sc. δαρεικούς = £8 16s.), and suppose the explanation to have ousted the correct reading. If we can do this, all will be clear. The context requires that what K. says that E. shall not have the shoes for should be (1) *greatly* in excess of what she offers and (2) *rather more* than the price which he makes a favour of naming to Metro's friend³ 110 ηθμον or ηθμην (i.e. Hdl.'s ἴθμην ?)

111 The traces after AΠ have been read as Ω by most editors, by Blass as ΗΛ; they seem to me to indicate a rather closely written EC; this gives us, with the remaining traces suitable but not certain, απεσθ' ο αν'ηρ, which is practically Bücheler's guess ἀπ[εσθ' ὄνήρ, cf. Sappho 2; I do not regard ἀπώκισται, ἀπήκασται, ἀπέσφαλται, or ἀπήλλακται as possible readings of the traces; the last visible traces are certainly not those of iota; over θοαν there are perhaps traces of a correction (των ? i.e. 'read ἀπεστ' ὄνήρ' ?) 112 οινγνυς rather than οινγεις

113 θῶμε[ν without a colon would be more usual Greek, and suits the traces rather better than θῶ μιν, but the singular is just possible with φέρε going before (with the first person *singular* a preceding imperative is essential, cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 1, p. 219) 115 αρμοζε[ι

128 The general meaning seems to be 'one should get ready in good time,' as it were 'mend your umbrella in fine weather'; after τήν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην P has θαλπουσανευδεινδονφρονουντακαιραπτειν, Büch.-Hdl. θάλπους άνευ δεῖ τὸν φρονοῦντα καρράπτειν, Knox θάλπους άνευ 'νδον τὸν φρονοῦντα δεῖ ράπτειν; I suggest that ψύχους άνευ (cf. ἡελίου δίχα quoted by Hdl. from

¹ I take these values from Nairn, pp. 106 sqq.; they are of course intended merely for purposes of comparison, not as representing buying-power.

² If, as is believed by some, the stater was

equivalent to the daric, the difficulty is increased.

³ For διπλόους rather than διπλοῦς cf. II. 54, and compare the Jersey *double* and our *doublon* 'from Span. *doblon*, so called because it is the double of the pistole' (Skeat).

Nic. *Theor.* 693) was misread ψύχουσαν εὖ and, as an epithet to βαίτην, without regard to the impossible position of the article, altered to θάλπουσαν εὖ; otherwise I should follow Hdl.

VIII. 2 for *the* sow cf. Ar. *Plut.* 1106 'your master, his wife, the children, the slaves, the dog, yourself, and the sow' 4 το]ν κυσον 8 τ]ονθρυζε 10 δι]λη 11 clearly ερια not εργα 14 τ[ου]ναρ 17 η[ν]

16-36 The *Dream* owes so much to previous work, particularly to that of Mr. Knox and the staff of the British Museum,¹ that I have some compunction in trying to better what they have done. But it cannot be denied that in its latest state the story does not develop naturally, and there are imperative palaeographical reasons for making the attempt.² It is true that Greek writers, except perhaps in choral lyric, generally insist, like children, on giving links in the tale which we tend to omit as obvious, and lengthy descriptions of dress or scenery were not to them otiose, at any rate in Alexandrian times; but this does not mean that a well-told Greek tale would include things which do not contribute to the story, or contain apparent reasons for actions which never come. For instance, what is the function, in this dream as we find it restored by Mr. Knox,³ of the words ἡοὺς φαούσης, natural enough if we had been told that the journey began at night? For what action do the words τοῦ κόπου (or μοῦνον οὐ) γὰρ ἐσσωμαι give the motive? No version of the *Dream* can be satisfactory which is not structurally a good story. The palaeographical reasons for trying to improve on this version will be found in my notes below. In l. 16 one is tempted to read [ἐκ] φάραγος, comparing l. 67, and take μακρῆς in the Homeric sense of 'deep'; but EK hardly fills the space, and in Herodas μακρῆς with φάραγος must, I think, mean 'long'; in either case, however, the dreamer is supposed to be *saving* the goat, which has wandered into a gully and got into difficulties; otherwise there is no good reason for the δῶρον, which he says he will get ἐκ Διωνύσου in the interpretation of the dream (l. 68). The following text owes much, of course, to previous editors:

τράγον τιν' ἔλκειν [διὰ] φάραγος ὥτ'σμη[ν
μακρῆς, ὁ δ' εὐπώγ[ω]ν τε κεῖ'κερως ἦ[ν] τις.
ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ [ὕ]ψη[λότερος ἦ]α τῆς βήσσης,
ἦχ[οῦ]ς φα[νείσης, νήστιος] γὰρ ἐσσωμαι,
20 σύ[θην ὅκοι ὀρτάζον]τες αἰπόλοι πλε[ίην
τῇ[ν νηδὺν ἀκρήτου] ὠρίων τ' ἐποιεῦ[ντο.
κῆγὰ οὐκ ἐσύλευν [οὐδ]έν, [ὁ αἶξ δὲ τάπ' ἄλλης
καὶ ἄλλης δρυός [με σ]τέ[φε] ἐλάνθανε τρώγων.
οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ καρτάσ[αν]τες [ιρήν] μοι, 'Αν]νᾶ,⁴
25 τὸν αἰγ' ἐποίουν [ἐν δ' ἔ]π[νεον σπαδίξαντες.

¹ See also Herzog, *Philologus* 79.

² These words were written before I saw Herzog (*Philol.*) or Knox (*C.R.*); they still apply, though the palaeographical reasons are not so strong as they were.

³ Herzog's reading here, as too often elsewhere, does not account for the palaeographical facts.

⁴ Or ἦριον, see below; the fragment]πᾶ seems now (July, 1925) to have disappeared.

καὶ πλησίον μὲν [<ε>]ς ἀγ[ὦν]' οἱ παίζοντες
 κ[ατῆ]εσ[]αν. μᾶ · μ[υστα]γω[γὸς ἦν οἶος ·
 σχ[ιστὸν] κροκωτ[ὄν ἡμ]φί[εστ' ὃς ἀρράπτοις
 ὦ[ιαισι] λεπτῆς ἄντυγος καθιξ' [οὔδας,
 30 στ[ολίδα]ς¹ δὲ νεβροῦ χλανιδίω[ν] κατέξω[στ]ο
 κ[αλ λινέ]ην κύπα[σσι]ν ἀμ[φ]ἰ τοῖς ὅμοις ·
 κό[ρυμβα δ'] ἀμφὶ κρ[ητλ]κίσσι[ν'] ἔστεπτο,
 ὑπὸ δὲ κ[οθόρνου]ς φο[<ι>]νί[<η>]ι κα[τ]αζώστρον
 ἔσφι[<γ>]κτο · κ[ὦ μὲν το[ὕτο, δ]ς ἂν [δ' ἀλῶ] φρίκη[ι
 35 ἕτερος, ἀλ]εωρὴν εἰλ[εν ἦ ε]ἵθισ[ται ἀγρώτης.

'I dreamt that I was dragging² through a long ravine a goodly horned and bearded he-goat. And when I reached the higher parts of the woody glen, hearing a sound I hastened, for I was overcome with hunger, to a spot where goatherds keeping festival were filling their bellies with fruit³ and unmixed wine. Nothing stole I, but the goat nibbled the fillets from off an oak-tree or two ere I could know it; whereat they that were near got possession of my goat, Annas, and made sacrifice of him, and then flaying him began to blow up the skin. Meanwhile the players took the floor near by. Lord! what a fine man was the leader of their mysteries! Clad was he in a slitten saffron gown which touched the ground with the unjoined edges of its delicate hem;⁴ girt he was with the folds of a mantle of fawnskin and about his shoulders a linen cape; around his head was a twine of ivy-clusters, and beneath all he wore buskins drawn tight with crimson latches. So guised was he. As for any other that was taken with the chilly cold, his defence was that which is usual for country fellows.' In l. 18 for δὲ δῆ cf. III. 30, 36 19 I see ηχο[υ]ς⁵ corrected to εο[υς or perhaps εω], but cf. *Od.* VIII. 499, Aesch. *Eum.* 569, and we want a motive (sound rather than sight in the βῆσσα) | τοῦ κόπου and μούνον οὐ both seem to me too long, and neither gives a reason for stealing, or rather refusing to steal; for the γάρ-clause placed before what it explains cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 2. 333 20 Knox's first supplement was too short, his new suggestion σὺ[μπαντες ἀλισθέν]τες is unsatisfactory (all of *what* goatherds?) 21 Should contain something (a) which a hungry (?) man might wish to steal (22), (b) which the goatherds could fill (?) something with; if this festival is the rural Dionysia, unmixed wine would seem suitable, and a measure of tipsiness would account well for the sequel; ὄρια are among the offerings to Adonis, Theocr. XV. 112;⁶ for the language cf. *Od.* IX. 296, a passage, be it

¹ Herzog's στήθος is too short and his ποικίλην below it too long.

² By the horns, *see below*.

³ E.g. figs, if this is winter, *see below*.

⁴ I.e. it was slit on both sides from shoulder to heel, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 404.

⁵ Knox's η[ου]ς hardly suits the traces.

⁶ Mr. A. B. Cook, to whose kindness I owe much hereabouts, refers me for the 'fruit and

unmixed wine' at the rural Dionysia to the reliefs on the Stage of Phaedrus (see his restoration *Zeus* I., pl. XL.), which show a goat held by the horns (cf. Hesych. κερατοεσσεῖς· οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων) at an altar, an οἰνοχόη but no κρατήρ, and an offering of fruits (apparently figs) and cakes; he also would compare a red-figured amphora 2411 in the Naples Collection, *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI., pl. 37.

noted, which occurs not far from the Aeolus-episode (l. 36); note also that ἐννέωρος (l. 5) comes in *Od.* XI. 311–22 for the position of μοῖ cf. III. 73, VII. 126–23 I see no trace of Γ after TE, unless part of the horizontal stroke¹ is really part of a down-stroke, in which case the letter after E might be one of many, including Φ; for a similar E before Φ cf. II. 72, VII. 61; Γ is generally nearer, cf. V. 1, 14, VI. 11, VII. 101 | for the position of δέ cf. III. 19, 73, IV. 62, 92 | Mr. Cook's suggestion στελιν² 'mistletoe' (cf. Theophr. *C.P.* II. 17. 1, a Euboean word and therefore presumably Ionic) I have not been able to get in satisfactorily; στέφεια would be of wool, tying offerings to the trees (as in Pompeian paintings); to take them as vine-tendrils involves the rejection of the view that this festival is the rural Dionysia, which were held in midwinter; modern cattle will eat woollen garments hung out to dry | for nibbling goats leading to a quarrel and the impromptu trial of their keeper cf. Longus II. 3–24 Mr. Knox rightly rejects (*C.R.*) what he first printed, ὁ[χθεῦν]τες; it is too long and the traces do not suit it; but his new reading ἄπ[αν]τες gives no connexion with the previous sentence and is very weak, moreover the half-letter visible after TA is curved like C or E not Π | καρτάσαντες I take from Hesych. καρτάζεσθαι· κρατύνεσθαι; Hdt. prefers καρτερός to κρατερός; or we might read κάρτ' ἄσ[αν]τες 'mightily vexed,' comparing L. and S. for the intransitive use of ἄω, and ἄση and our use of 'fed-up' for the meaning (μάλα δὴ κεκορημένοις Γόργως Sappho 48 Bgk.) | the eating of the goat (cf. l. 70) is here implied in the sacrificing as in Theophr. *Char.* 9. 2 θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν παρ' ἑτέρῳ, τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἅλσιν πάσας | to avoid the fifth-foot spondee we might adopt Hesychius' ἔριον (*sic*)· τράγος, comparing ζήτριον 5. 32 which in Choeroboscus' text of H. was written ζήτριον (*E.M.* 411. 40, Crusius) 26 in what I take as ων the first stroke is consistent with Ω (the right-hand part of Ω is a down-stroke in this hand and sometimes ends almost perpendicularly as here, e.g. 7. 37; the beginning of this stroke is here lost in the selis) or with O (cf. the last O in l. 6) 27 μυσταγωγός, a mock-heroic metaphor, is due to Mr. Milne 28–9 καθίζ' is partly due to Mr. Milne; I take it as the aorist of καθίκω = καθικνέομαι; for οὔδας cf. VIII. 42; the κροκωτός was really a feminine χιτῶν, and so would be expected to touch the ground 30 at first this seems unsatisfactory, and not only because of the plural χλανιδίων; the two genitives 'folds of mantles of a fawn' are not exactly paralleled by any example given by Kühner-Blass II. 1. 337, though Eur. *Ph.* 308 βοστρύχων . . . χαίτας πλόκαμον *s.v. l.* comes nearer than most; however, there is Herodotus' πέδιλα νεβρῶν worn by the Thracians περὶ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας 7. 75, and if that is not to be corrected to νεβρέων 'fawnskins' we must not change νεβροῦ here to νεβρῆς; the next line precludes στικτῆς δὲ νεβροῦ χλανιδίῳ, which otherwise might serve (for dative cf. Eur. *Hec.* 432, *Hel.* 422, Pind. *Nem.* X. 82); χλανιδίας as an adjective with στολίδας also occurs to me, cf. οἰκίδιος Opp., νυμφίδιος Eur.;

¹ A piece of this has been lost or turned round since Nairn's facsimile was made.

² The alternative form would probably have to be στελῖδα in H.

but on the whole I prefer Knox's reading 33 the letter before KA, as Milne agrees, is hardly N or C | for confusion in MSS. between φοίνιος and φόνιος cf. Soph. Phil. 783 34 for ἔσφι<γ>κτο (the γ is dropped in the perfect infinitive by some MSS. of Philostr. Vit. Aρ. II. 63), which I thought of before seeing Herzog's paper, cf. passages quoted by Knox, p. 388 *med.* | the fragment containing τ[, ορ[can hardly belong here; it certainly does not belong where Herzog puts it, VIII. 38; probably to ll. 55-6 | φρίκη of winter, cf. τὰ κατ' ἄγρους Διονύσια held in Poseideon in Attica | obviously, as Mr. Knox now apparently sees, after so long a description of one of the competitors or players, these two lines 34-5 must be descriptive either of ὁ ἕτερος or of οἱ ἄλλοι, but Knox's ἄλλος ἄλλην can hardly stand for τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλος ἄλλην | for this construction of εἴθισται¹ cf. εἰθισμένως

36 sqq. We now come to the ἀσκωλιασμός itself; according to my restoration, we left some of the goatherds, presumably the older men, inflating the skin at l. 25 (imperfect ἐνέπνεον, *see below*); my suggestions are based on these considerations: (1) Herzog's view that λῶπος is the skin (cf. λέπω), and Knox's that the word before λακτίζειν (38) is δέρμα,² seem to me very probably right, but Knox's ἡλ[κον does not fill the space in l. 36, and surely εἰς πλοῦν Ὀδυσσέως οἴκαδε is impossible Greek; (2) the description of the size of the κώρυκος, if, as the interpretation of the *Dream* makes almost certain, it is the goatskin of l. 25, is only in point here if it describes what the goatskin *has now become*, i.e. by being inflated; (3) the most likely place for the fragment containing ΦΗ and ΕΓΟ, or as Mr. Knox now reads it and as appears to me possible,³ ΕΠ, is under the Τ of Ὀδυσσέως; (4) the fragment containing KEN, or more probably ΞΕΝ,⁴ I have placed with certainty before λῶστον in l. 39, at a distance which would suit one letter such as H or N, or two such as AI, OI, OE, OO, OC (the last three pairs written small and close); (5) the NOC of l. 73 fits this space exactly; (6) if λῶπος is the goatskin and ll. 36-7 describe its size, τὸ δ[έρμ]α can only be right if it comes in a speech; (7) however we restore ll. 38-9, they must deal with something which resembles what 'we,' the townsfolk, τελεῶμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διωνύσου, and must be consistent with the skin (δορή l. 47, κώρυκος l. 74), the inflation (ἄπνους l. 74), the jumping of the competitors on to the skin (ἐπ' οὖν ἀλέσθαι l. 46), with the words λακτίζειν (l. 38) and, probably, πατεῖν (l. 58), and with the actions of the competitors successful (ll. 45-7) and unsuccessful (ll. 41-4); (8) as Mr. Knox sees, we want some mention of the oiling or greasing of the skin, for there is no room for it in l. 25; I suggest:

ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ τ[ὸ] λῶπο[ς κώρ]υκον⁵ [πε]ποιῆσθαι
 ῥῶσπην Ὀδ[υσσέως ὄ]σσον Αἰόλ[ου] δῶρον,

¹ Suggested to me by Mr. Knox's (*C.R.*) ~~εἴθιστο~~ (there is hardly room, I think, for his εἴχ' [ῥῶπης] before it).

² The letter after ΤΟ, as Knox now sees, cannot be Π.

³ Π's whose top stroke does not project on the left occur in 7. 59, 8. 21, 22; the 'kick-up' of

the right leg is fairly common, and is found before iota in 4. 13.

⁴ E, H, T are just possible readings of this doubtful letter, hardly M.

⁵ The T seems to me to be visible on the under surface.

χρίσας ἔφη· [‘Ὁ ἀγὼν τόδε] τὸ δ[έρμ]α λακτίζειν,
νικᾷ δ’ ὅς]ἐπ[ιβῆ σκέλεος ἐ]ξ ἐν[ὸς] λῶσπον,’
40 ὥσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διωνύσου.

‘And when the fell seemed to me to have grown to a wineskin of the size of Aeolus’ gift to Odysseus, the chief anointed it and said, “The joust is to tread this skin, the victory his that hops upon it best,” even as we do in the dances of Dionysus.’ In ll. 36-37 Ω is twice corrected to O; I suggest that *ωσσον* for *οσσον* was a mistake due to the preceding *ως*, and that *τω* for *το* was an anticipation of *λω*, both errors of a common type | for *κώρυκον ποιεῖν τι* cf. Timaeus ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 60 *ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιῆσαι* (quoted by Herzog)¹ 37 for the two genitives cf. Thuc. III. 12 *τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν* and other instances in Kühn.-Bl. II. 1. 337² 38 the first supplement is mainly due to Mr. Knox, though he writes *ἤλειψε καὶ ἔφη*, placing the fragment containing ΦΗ further to the right, which seems to me a less likely position; cf. for the crasis 4. 65 39 for the omission of *ἄν* cf. II. 43, III. 75 | *σκέλεος ἐξ* is a little long for the gap, but possible, since there is much small writing hereabouts, and not only at the end of the line | for the hopping cf. Plat. *Symp.* 190A, Eust. *Od.* X. 47 and other passages quoted by Knox, p. 389 | for the phrase *σκέλεος ἐξ ἐνός* (they also said *ἐφ’ ἐνός σκέλους* and *ἐνὶ ποδί*) cf. Soph. *Phil.* 91 (of Philoctetes) *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐνός ποδὸς | ἡμᾶς τοσούσδε πρὸς βίαν χερῶσεται*

45 Mr. Knox’s *μου[νο]ς* is probably right, but why not *δῖς*? his use of *καί . . . δέ* is hard to explain in this context 47 Mr. Knox’s old reading *ἀπαλῶς* I find too long; I once thought of *οὕτως* ‘simply,’ i.e. just pressing against his foot without throwing him off; but though T is not invariably joined to a succeeding Ω (cf. IV. 51, V. 57, VII. 11), one would expect to see part of the cross-stroke here; so I should prefer *ὀρθῶς* and *πιεξεῦντα* (Herzog-Knox) 46 for the late *οῦν* with tmesis cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1047 48]*τα[εθλον* 58 *λὰξ πατέ[ων τὰ θεῶν ἱρά]* perhaps refers to the *ἀσκαλιασμός* having been participated in by a stranger; or is *πατέω* metaphorical, referring to the depredations of the goat?

64 the letter after *δορέα* cannot be Δ; it might be T (cf. the first T in l. 40), Ξ, less likely Z or Π; I suggest *τ[ίλλειν λεπτά* ‘tear in pieces,’ cf. l. 72, 2. 70, and Theocr. III. 21 65 *ελη[ξα* 66 *δ[ος]*

67 sqq. Knox’s original supplements are too long in l. 68 and too short in l. 69, and in l. 69 P has, as he now agrees, not *εις* but *εκ*; Herzog’s readings do not fit; I follow Knox’s new readings, except that I should read in l. 67 *ὥς μὲν τὸ]ν αἶγα*, because *ὥς καλὸ]ν αἶγα* is too short; ‘Even as I dragged the

¹ With Mr. Knox’s *ἡλ[ικον]*, which for palaeographical reasons, as we have seen, is unlikely, we should have expected *πεφυσῆσθαι*; the use of *πεποιῆσθαι* seems to call for a predicate.

² An alternative is to read *αἰόλον* or *Διολόν* as

the adjective, in the former case with a punning reference to Aeolus, in the latter taking *Διολόν* as the adjective of *Αἰόλος* (‘of Aeolus’); or did H. write *Διόλιον* ‘of Aeolus’ (corrupted to *Αἰόλου*)?

goat out of the ravine, so I shall have a gift from the fair Dionysus' (i.e. the prize at the Dionysia ?)

71 sqq. for the play on μέλεα 'limbs' and μέλεα 'songs, poems' cf. the *Tale of Echo*, Longus III. 23 | in ἐν Μούσῃσιν H.'s readers could hardly fail to see a reference to the Μουσείον at Alexandria, cf. Theocr. VII. 47; but the phrase must of course go with τιλεῦσιν; *pace* Knox and Herzog, it cannot go with πολλοί as if it stood for τῶν ἐν Μούσῃσιν ὄντων

72 Knox's ὦδε γ[οῦν κρίνω] will not do; as I see it, there is not room for ΠΙΝΩ after the K (which is partly visible), and hardly room for ΟΤΝ before it, moreover the letter after Γ is Ω; read with Crusius ὦδ' ἐγὼ [<ε>ι]κ[άξω], the last three letters of which must have been small and close, as often hereabouts, especially at the end of a line

76 sqq. Knox is right (C.R.) to reject ποεῖς in 78, but I do not think Mr. Milne's τιμῆς exhausts the possibilities, and ξξω] κλέος, the old reading, seems to me unquestionably right, cf. Ibycus, *O.P.* 1790 fin., a similar context; the chief trouble lies in the two η's; Herzog's use of ἦ . . . ἦ for εἶτε . . . εἶτε seems to me most unlikely, and if I understand him right Knox's view that τιμῆς μεθ' Ἰππώνακτα is dependent on τὰ κυλλά involves a use of the genitive of description in Greek, for which it would be hard, I think, to find a satisfactory parallel; the Laconian song, Ar. *Lys.* 1247, addressed to Mnemosyne, begins ὄρμαον τὼς κυρσανίως ὦ Μναμόνα τὰν τεὰν μῶαν, where ὄρμαον = ὄρμησον; HME in l. 76 seems to have changed HNME to HME in l. 77; I suggest, following Hdl. in l. 76:

ξξω] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἦ μ' ἔπεα κ[οσμείς,
μέγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἦ<ν> με δευτέρη<ι> γνώ[μη
ὄρ]μα<ι>^{s1} (i.e. ὄρμῆς) μεθ' Ἰππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [κείνον
τὰ κύλλ' αἰεῖδεν Ξουθίδαῖς ἐπίουσι<ν>.

'I shall have great fame from my verses, I swear it by thee, O Muse, that adornest my lines, if thou makest me to win the second place after old Hipponax in singing' [*lit.* makest me to sing with the second judgment or decision] 'crippled songs to the future children of Xouthos.' 79 κυλλ' (*sic*)

IX. The restoration of this tantalizing introduction cannot be certain, but as I cannot agree with some of Mr. Knox's readings of the more doubtful letters—for instance in ll. 2 and 8—, and I do not find his supplements always consistent with the size of the gaps—for instance in ll. 6 and 10—, I have made the following attempt. But I need hardly add I owe much to previous work. I take the scene to be a breakfast in the γυναικωνίτις. As the Greek breakfast² consisted solely of bread sopped in wine (Plut. *Q. Conv.* 8. 6. 4), it is natural that the scolding of the slaves should be in connexion with the bringing of wine and bread. The first two lines are concerned with the seating of the

¹ No room for ὥρ]μας (imperfect); a trace over the A is perhaps the remains of the correction H or HI (i.e. 'read ὄρμῆς ?).

² In view of Herodas' title and the derivation, it seems likely that for διανοητισμόν in Ath. I. 11d we should read ἀπονητισμόν.

company, i.e. the children. The last I restore *exempli gratia* from Theocr. 28. The mother speaks:

- Ἔξεσθε πᾶσαι. κοῦ τὸ παιδίον; δέξ[ον].
 <ε>ῖσαι¹ π[ρ]ός, Εὐέτειρα, καὶ Γλύκην μ[ὲ]ξον.
 Βίτ[η, τί λ]αῖδρῇ τὴν ἐτοῖμον (sc. μαζαν) οὐ[κ οἴσεις;
 ἀ<ε>λ καθεύδ]εις· μή σε [κν]ισμάτων [μνήσω·
 5 πλεῦσιν τὸ] δ<ε>ῖνα τ[οῦτ' ἀ]νῆνύτω[ς] ξύ[σ]ω
 ἢ ὄσσοισι]ν ἢ δ[η πολλ]αχῇ πεποίκιλ[σαι].
 φέρ' οἶνον· ἀ[λλὰ μὴ] φέρ', ἐς κόρον δ', Ἄννα,
 βρῖ[ξ·] ὁ δ' ἐλ[άθειν] ἔγερθ<ε>ῖσα δειλαίοις βλέψ[η].
 φέρ' ὦ Ψεκ[ὰς τὸ ἔκπω]μα· καὶ τὰ νύ[ν] εὖδεις
 10 αὐτὴ σὺ; μ[ὴ ἀλλὰ βλάπ]τεται <ᾶ>φνω [σοι ἢ νῶσις·
 οὐ πρόσθ' ἄ[νους ἦσθ'· ἢ δὲ νῆ]νις, ἦ ἔ[ελθω
 τίθεσθ' ἄμ[ιλλαν ἦς σὺ τ]ἀελθον ἐξοί[σεις;
 γληχὼ [φέρ'· οὐ δὴ τοῖς το]κεῦσί σ' ἦειρα
 e.g. [ὅκως σ' ἄεργον κἀκίρην τρέφοιμ' ἔνδον.]

This may be translated thus:

'Sit down everybody. Where's Baby? Give him to me. Sit next me [or sit up to table], Eueteira, and wipe Glykè's nose. Bitè, you hussy, why don't you bring what bread you have ready? You're always asleep. Mind I don't have to remind you of the scratchings I've given you. I'll give you at one beating more marks of ornamentation on the you-know-what than all you've had before put together. Bring some wine—no, don't bring it; have your sleep out, Anna; but what you forget is, how bad your eyesight will be when you wake up [*i.e.* you'll find you've a black eye]. Bring the cup, Psecas; why, are *you* asleep as late as this? No, no; it must be a sudden loss of wits; you used not to be a fool. And the girl—must I come out and make a race of it for you to win [*i.e.* come and drive you here]? Bring the pennyroyal. I didn't adopt you for the pleasure of keeping a pet do-nothing and sloven.'

1-2 In 1. 2 (a) the letter before AI was either K or C; if C, it can have been preceded by iota, but by no other letter, (b) there is a high point² before καὶ Γλύκην, and the last syllable of Εὐέτειραν makes with it a spondee where, if it is the fourth foot, we must have an iambus; it seems to me that if (1) we read the first letters as καί, we must either suppose the initial καί to have been a mistake, or Εὐέτειραν to be a mistake for Εὐέτειρα, and if (2) we read them ισαι, i.e. εἶσαι or ἴσαι imperative of εἰσάμην, we have no choice but to read Εὐέτειρα and take it as vocative, which involves the equation εἶσαι, or ἴσαι, πρὸς=πρόσεισαι or πρόσισαι (for πρὸς in *tnesi* cf. III. 85); I choose the latter alternative. Now εἶσαι or ἴσαι may be used either transitively or intransitively, cf. Ap. Rh. IV. 8 ἀνείσατο and Hdt. III. 126, VI. 103 ὑπέισας (Cobet ὑπίσας), both meaning 'make to sit'.³ The syllable δεξ[may belong to the imperative

¹ Or ὕσαι, see below.

² Or a slightly misplaced mark of cancellation

meaning 'read Εὐέτειρα'? see below.

³ Cf. παρίστασθαι, Lys. 18. 10.

δέξον as Mr. Knox takes it, 'Give the baby to me,' or it may be some case of Δέξις or Δεξώ (cf. *I.G.* II. 984. 1. 11 and II. 2034, *Cic. Verr.* II. 5. 42). If (1) the verb is intransitive, I would translate as above. The mother receives the baby from the unnamed nurse, and then tells the eldest child to sit next her [or up to table] and wipe the third child's nose. The active of μύσσομαι is cited by Hesychius according to L. and S., but I cannot find it in Schmidt's edition; ἀπομύττω is quoted by Pollux 2. 78, and occurs in *A.P.* 11. 268 of a man wiping his own nose; the active would naturally be used of wiping other people's noses in nurseries; the simple verb, too, may well be nursery language. The family thus being seated, the mother calls for the food and drink. I am not sure if the absence of a name for the nurse who brings the baby is a blemish. If so, we must read κοῦ τὸ παιδίον, Δέξ[οι]; The only other objection I can see to this first alternative is, that with the possible exception of the baby all three children are girls, and that seems dramatically unsound. But, for all we know, this may be Herodas' own family (cf. the previous Mime) and we are dealing with fact, not fiction. If (2) εἶσαι or ἴσαι is transitive, we can give the mother a boy other than the baby by reading Δέξ[ιν, 'sit [=seat] Dexis next me [or up to table], a use naturally as rare in Greek literature as the nursery use of 'sit' transitively is in ours. But the use of the feminine πασαι is against this; and δέξον certainly rounds off the baby-fetching episode, which is otherwise left in the air

3 The name Βιττώ occurs in a Coan inscription, *I.G.* 2236, and for the single T we might compare H.'s own Βίτιννα in V. and Βιτᾶς in VI.; but with the -ώ suffix we should expect TT; I therefore suggest Βίτη, comparing Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 94, where he remarks that Βιτίας, Βιτιάς, Βιτίων, Βίτων, Βίττος presuppose a name Βίτος | λαιδρή is due to Mr. Knox | with the omission of μαζαν, cf. *Alex. Κυπρ.* 1. πόσους φέρεις; sc. ἄρτους

4 Either this is the rare construction 'Mind I don't remind you' exemplified in *Il.* I. 26, or μή is interrogative; the former best suits the following sentence

5-6 I have placed the fragment]ξν[,]κιλ[, with some probability, by means of the grain of the papyrus, 3 mm. (a worm-course?) to the right of these lines; but κιλ is very uncertain, part of the surface being lost | the form πλεῦσιν is inferred from Hdt.'s πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, but some may prefer πλέοσιν | τὸ δέινα is κυσός or πνυγή, cf. *Ar. Ach.* 1149; for beating on the belly cf. *Ar. Ran.* 663, but the reference may be to depilation, cf. *Cratin. Νόμ.* 6 (a threat) | τὸ σόν would hardly fit the gap; for τοῦτο contemptuous=τὸ σόν cf. οὔτος=σύ; an alternative would be τ[όσ][[σ]]ον a corruption of τὸ σόν | ἀνηνύτως 'without pausing,' i.e. 'at one beating' | πολλαχῇ apparently 'ever before,' a construction arising from an attempt to add 'and they are many' to 'as many as'; cf. εἰ πολλάκις='if ever,' Kühner-Blass II. 2. 115

7 For the omission of the article with οἶνον cf. the same phrase in *Ar. Plut.* 644 and *Anacr.* 62 Bgk. and the *Anacreontea* | ἐς κόρον is so used by *Luc. Merc. Cond.* 26

8 δ δ' ἐλάθειν is like οὐ δ' ἐπεμνήσθην V. 53 and δ παρέλιπον Theophr. *Char.* VII. 3 | for the omission of ὀφθαλμοῖς cf. V. 60, VI. 23

9 The name is doubtful, the traces favouring Ψετ[or Ψεπ[; but cf. Cic. *Fam.* VIII. 12. 2, Juv. VI. 489 | a single cup is conceivable for breakfast in a nursery, where old customs (cf. the loving-cup and the Eucharist and Alcaeus 41 Bgk. ἀ δ' ἀτέρα τὰν ἀτέραν κύλιξ ὠθήτω) die hard; κύπελ]λα is too short

10 After βλάπτεται the scribe wrote or began φρένας, reading φνωσοι as φρενασοι, which was corrected by striking through ρενα and writing νω above (the φ is not struck out); for the contracted form νῶσις cf. νῶβυστρα VI. 16.

11 Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 5, Theocr. X. 23

13 γληχώ is the Ionic form, cf. Hipp. II. 323 Kühn; what is pennyroyal doing here? Though I am assured that those are not its real properties, it seems to have had a vogue in Hippocrates' and Herodas' native Cos as a laxative, and it is therefore quite proper to a nursery breakfast; in Hipp. *l.c.* and *ib. fin.* it is an ingredient of a medicine which τὴν κοιλίαν λύει; in another passage, I. 688 Kühn, it is precisely stated that it θερμαίνει καὶ διαχωρίζει. In fifth-century Athens it was used to counteract over-indulgence in eating fruit, Ar. *Pax* 712 and Sch. | ἥειρα is apparently used of adopting (as a slave) an exposed child

14 ἔνδον with τρέφω would suggest 'keeping as a pet,' i.e. 'idle,' cf. Theophr. *Char.* XXI. 6 of a tame jackdaw.

I add a few exegetic and illustrative notes:

III. 42 τί μιν δοκεῖς τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς κακῆς πάσχειν
ἐπεὶν ἴδωμι;

τί δοκεῖς is apparently like πῶς δοκεῖς, πῶς οἶει, πόσον δοκεῖς, 'you can't think what'; cf. Kühner-Blass II. 2. 354

59 The name Φίλλος occurs in Anacreon 172 Bgk.

IV. 11 For fowl-roosts on the walls of houses cf. Theocr. XIII. 13 where they are called 'smoky' because they were near the smoke-hole or chimney

VI. 54 Cf. the proverb ἡσάν ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι and its variants, with references in *Paroem. Gr.* I. 151 Leutsch

VII. 28 κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει: for this use of κηρὸς of encaustic painting cf. *Anacreont.* XVII. 28 *et al.*

XI.a καθελεῖν ἱστόν: to 'take down' the weaver's beam because the piece of cloth is finished, cf. Theocr. XV. 35, XVIII. 35, Bion II. 24.

My thanks are due to Mr. A. B. Cook for some valuable archaeological suggestions in *Mime* VIII., and to Mr. H. I. Bell and Mr. H. J. M. Milne for ungrudging help with certain doubtful letters; my debt to Mr. A. D. Knox I share with all scholars.

J. M. EDMONDS.

ANTIGONE AND THE BRIDE OF CORINTH.

THIS paper sets out to answer four apparently unconnected questions, which, however, I hope to show to be parts of one question :

- (1) Why did Haimon kill himself over the body of Antigone?
- (2) Why did Philinnion return for three nights to her father's house?
- (3) Why is it unlawful (*οὐ θέμις*) to leave a story unfinished?
- (4) Why is a magician sometimes torn in pieces by his own devils, or otherwise destroyed by his own magic?

The last statement is familiar to everyone; the third rests on the excellent authority of Plato (*Gorgias* 505c, where see Stallbaum); the first two need some preliminary explanation. A great part of the significance of Sophokles' admirable play is lost by those who misinterpret the episode of the suicide; it seems a rather unnecessary addition to Kreon's woes. But the matter has been put in its true light by P. Roussel, in *Rev. ét. grecques*, 1922, pp. 63 sqq. Haimon and Antigone are betrothed, as the only possible interpretation of 570 shows. ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χάτερων ἀντὶ γύαι, says Kreon; Ismene answers, οὐχ, ὥς γ' ἐκείνῳ τῇδ' ἔτ' ἦν ἡρμοσμένα—i.e. 'That is not so, for they (Haimon and Antigone) had already been betrothed (before this affair began).' Kreon therefore is doubly impious; he insults (*ἀτιμάζει*, 572) not only Haimon, whose marital rights he violates, but Hades. A virgin may, as I have elsewhere¹ shown, be wedded to Hades, not merely in poetical fancy, but in cult; but a married woman cannot; Hades, like all Greek gods, refuses to countenance polyandry. The bride is given over into his keeping (890), and is definitely in his charge. The fact that she hangs herself in the tomb, and thus avoids starving to death, is of no ritual importance, for she is ritually dead from the moment it closes over her. This being so, Hades necessarily and inevitably brings the bridegroom to her. It is the well-known story of Leonora, with the sexes reversed; a story which, whether surviving or revived, is still in circulation in Greece, as may be seen from Bikellias' tale, 'Ο ὄρκος τῆς ἀγάπης, which claims with obvious truth to be of popular origin.

But there was another possibility, somewhat less gruesome, but equally thrilling, and more familiar to us generally because, while Sophokles has been misunderstood, Goethe has made it the subject of his famous poem, *Die Braut von Corinth*. The fullest version we have is in Phlegon of Tralles, *de mirabilibus* 1 (Westermann, *Paradoxogr.*, pp. 117 sqq.). Unfortunately the beginning is lost, and has to be supplied from the much shorter version of Proclus (*in rem pub.* II., p. 116, Kroll), who cites as his authority Naumachios of Epeiros; as Naumachios was a writer of the fourth century (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάππων*, says Proclus, writing in the fifth), he probably used Phlegon, who was a *libertus* of Hadrian, and another of whose stories he has reproduced in the same passage. We may therefore regard this fragment as equivalent to an epitome of the *de mirabilibus* so far as it goes. Patching the two together, then, we have the following tale: In the reign of Philip of Macedon—probably Philip II. is meant, but the historical framework is of the shakiest—a married couple in Corinth, Demonstratos and Charito, married their daughter Philinnion to a certain Krateros. But she died, and six months afterwards a guest, Machates, visited her parents' house. The rest proceeds as in Goethe's

¹ In a paper read before the British Association at Toronto, August, 1924; see *Classical Philology*, July, 1925.

poem : the young man receives the visits of a girl, whom he takes to be a hetaira ; on the third night Philinnion's mother, who has heard of the matter, and begged Machates to let her have sight of the mysterious visitor, intrudes, and finds that it is her own daughter, who thus addresses her and her husband : ' Mother and father, how ill you use me, grudging me my three days with our guest in my own father's home, when I hurt no one ! Therefore you, for your meddling, must mourn me again ; but I will go back to my appointed place, for my coming was by the divine will.' Thereat she falls dead ; the governor of the city hears of the matter, and by his orders the tomb is examined, and found to contain, where the body of Philinnion ought to be, a ring which Machates had given his visitor.

I forbear for a moment to comment on the story, which I take to be garbled at one point and incomplete in another, but pass on to mention another marvel quoted by Proclus from Naumachios. One Rufus of Philippi, chief priest of Thessalonike, undertook to give certain games, but died before he could do so. Three days after his death he came to life, and, the tale continues, ' stated that he had been sent up by the chthonian gods to accomplish the public games.' This he did, and then, as Gunga Dass says, ' died conclusively.'

What I wish to point out is that both the priest and the bride are in the same position, not only as Haimon and Antigone, but as the story-teller who is half-way through. Whatever else a story may be (and it is and has been many things), it is frequently a charm or a piece of ritual, as has been so often pointed out that I need hardly give examples. Hence to be part way through one of the ritual tales (say, half-way through the story of Iron, in the *Kalevala*, or the tale of Persephone, which the witch threatens to tell in the sixth book of Lucan) is to be half-way through a rite. But so are Haimon and Antigone. They are betrothed, but have not yet completed, and especially have not yet consummated, their marriage. The priest in the story from Naumachios is in like case ; he is, in Roman phraseology, *ucti damnatus*, but has not as yet paid his sacral debt.

Much has been written, notably by the French school of sociologists, *quos honoris causa nomino*, without professing implicit belief in all their theories, about the difference between sacred and secular, tabu and non-tabu, and the ritual, often very complicated, needed in order to pass from one state to the other. M. van Gennep also has done lasting service to science in his monumental work, *Les Rites de Passage*, in insisting on the highly sacral nature of all thresholds—notably that between two of the great stages of life, as childhood and puberty, or the single and the married state. But some are perhaps a little apt to forget, firstly, that it is quite as magical a business to make a sacred into a profane person or place ; and, secondly, that a ritual ' threshold ' is not a mathematical line, but of perceptible width, so that it is possible to step on it and stay there. To marry, for example, may take all manner of different periods of time : a few minutes, if we like, among ourselves ; some years, if the thing is done with full Bulgarian ceremonial ; and therefore it is possible to remain half-married. But the half-married are clearly in a very parlous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a tabu condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaids, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil,¹ that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other—

His Phaedram Procrinque locis

One had tried to be the wife simultaneously of father and son ; the other had been slain by her husband, thus unnaturally breaking the tie between them.

¹ *Aen.* VI. 444 sqq.

maestamque Eriphylen
crudelis nati monstrantem uolnera cernit

She again had broken the tie by violence, being the murderess of her husband.

Euadnenque et Pasiphaen ; his Laodamia
it comes, et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina Caenis,
rursus, et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram.

The first three are out of the picture. Vergil, I think, did not understand Euadne's perfectly correct *sati*, and thinks of her as a suicide ; Pasiphae had been grossly misrepresented for many centuries before he mentioned her, and Laodamia is in the same class with Euadne ; but Kainis-Kaineus is certainly in place, having been both man and woman. In a very similar position are the unburied dead. Indeed, the whole horror of vampires, *ἄωροι, βιαιοθάνατοι*, and such uncanny spooks, is that they are not properly dead at all. The living one is used to ; the real dead are all very well in their way ; according to local belief and custom they come back as babies, or show themselves at soul-feasts for a few hours each year, or abide decently in their tombs, or in Hades ; but the others are, in Bram Stoker's expressive phrase, 'Undead.' They have not lived on earth long enough to qualify for admission into the world of shades, or some irregularity in their own condition or the rites of their sepulture has stopped them on the way, hence they are miserable, much more miserable than either the dead or the living, and consequently liable to work off their ill-temper on those unfortunate enough to come within their reach. In particular, they are horribly apt to make other people like themselves. It is well known that a vampire's victims themselves tend to become vampires, and hundreds of *defixiones* appeal to the *βιαιοθάνατοι* to kill someone.

Antigone then, from the moment of her entrance into the tomb, and therefore into the world of the dead, was in an unbalanced state magically, doubly so in fact ; for she was in Hades' province, yet not as yet actually out of the body, and she was neither married nor unmarried. So she drew Haimon after her, as he foresaw that she would (751, ἦδ' οὖν θανέται, καὶ θανούσ' ὀλεῖ τινα, a remark which one or two moderns misunderstand as badly as Kreon, though in a different way).

All this surely throws a strong light on the tale of Philinnion. It seems to me necessary to assume that she died still a virgin, and fairly likely that in the original story Machates and Krateros were one and the same person. However, this last point is not quite necessary ; Machates, if not her actual husband, was well fitted to represent him, being an outsider, who declared himself such by sleeping in the guest-room. What makes me think that he was her husband is that, according to Phlegon, he gave her an iron ring, which is surely a gift rather suited to a bride than to a light-o'-love.¹ In any case, she must have died with the all-important τέλος unaccomplished. Why she was to return for three nights in particular, apart from the familiar magical connotations of three, I do not know ; but the first three nights of marriage (the 'nights of Tobias') have certainly at some times and places a particular significance.

It remains, however, to ask why Philinnion did not attract her husband to her, or, alternatively, why Antigone did not return to life. Either would do so far as fulfilling the rite was concerned, and certainly Philinnion was quite as much in the realm of Hades as Antigone. The answer is incidentally furnished by Wissowa in his admirable article on the entombment of guilty Vestals (*A.R.W.* XXII., 1924, p. 213). Philinnion was innocent of all offence, and great allowance could be made for one in her unhappy position ; but Antigone was undeniably a great sinner. Sophokles, indeed, is sympathetic towards her, but the earlier age which framed the

¹ See Pliny, *N.H.* XXXIII. 12, *sponsae . . . ferreus anulus mittitur.*

story was clearly less so. She had most flatly disobeyed her king, and at the same time the nearest available representative of her father, for Oedipus was either dead, in exile, or dethroned and under a curse, leaving Kreon the senior male of the household. Hence, with the usual reluctance to shed kindred blood, she had not been put to death, but subjected to an ordeal; Hades could not, in common justice, let her come out of it alive. Therefore, as Haimon unluckily had associated himself closely with her, there was no alternative to making him die also. 'Therefore she perished, and in her death was the bale of another also.'

Indeed, so full of magic is the whole business of marriage (owing, of course, to the immense psychological, and therefore magical, importance of all that relates to the sexual functions), that even long-established married couples are apt to attract each other to or from Hades. I have mentioned Euadne and Laodamia, to keep to Greek examples, setting China, India, etc., aside; Pausanias remembers that Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, was the first widow ever to remarry;¹ Orpheus and Eurydike are well known not only in Thrace, but from there eastward to the Pacific coast of America, if not farther. But as a rule no such fatal consequences follow in Greek thought the death of a husband or wife. The reason appears to be that, to a Greek, mere long continuance in a given state tended to make its magical importance pass off. This is an early idea enough. Minos had to do something, whatever exactly it was, every eighth year, in order to remain 'gossip of Zeus' (τ 179); and the unburied and untimely dead could manage to get across Styx if they waited long enough. But as a rule definite measures have to be taken to desacralize one's self. A Roman after prayer was careful to turn his back on the god and sit down to let the holiness pass off; Pythagoreans were strongly advised to go out of a temple the reverse way to that by which they came in. So with the many magicians who, like Ancus, Faust, or Lay-brother Peter, were undone by their own magic, whether broomsticks, thunderbolts, or demons. They used only the first half of the charm; and to complete their abracadabras there was need of a St. Dunstan to desacralize all with a stern 'Vade retro, strongbeerum.'

H. J. ROSE.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES,
ABERYSTWYTH.

PAUS. II, 21, 7.

THE (HOMERIC) HYMN TO HERMES.

(Continued from the 'Classical Quarterly,' Vol. XVIII., p. 141.)

193 ἐξ ἀγέλης • ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μῶνος ἀπ' ἄλλων
κύνεος, χαροποὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο
τέσσαρες ἥύτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες • οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν
οἷ τε κύνες ὃ τε ταῦρος, ὃ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται.

HORACE has told us that the author of a literary work,

qui uariare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,

falls into absurdities. Much more likely to meet this fate is the interpolater who has the same ambition. The above four lines are a case in point; for it is fairly certain that if this Hymn were presented to readers as it came from the hand of its author, the whole passage with its phenomenal bull and its four pacifist dogs which apparently had agreed together not to bark and bite, 'as is their nature to,' would not be found in the text. Undoubtedly it is true, though it is by no means a marvel (*θαῦμα*), that the bull which was somewhere else and the dogs which were following in his wake were not taken by the infant cattle-lifter who was satisfied, as he well might be, with a trifle of fifty cows. The veracity of the interpolater in this regard may, therefore, pass without question, and furthermore his knowledge of epic metre does not fail seriously till he reaches the fourth line, although ὁ δὲ ταῦρος is not really epic and ἀλλάων not ἄλλων is required in the opening line, for he certainly did not mean, as he unwittingly says 'other bulls,' but 'the others, the cows.' After οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν (not οἷ μὲν as a recent edition has it) it is quite out of the question that οἷ τε κύνες ὃ τε ταῦρος, two flagrant examples of the later article, should follow. Should anyone feel satisfied to defend this expression by translating whimsically 'both those dogs and that bull,' he would hardly succeed in convincing any scholar but himself, and of this limited success τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται might well be said; and even then there remains the undeniable and awkward fact that five short syllables are found standing in sequence in this misbegotten and fraudulent verse. In reality all four lines are based on the genuine—

192 πάσας θηλείας πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς.

Note the weakness of the connecting link ἐξ ἀγέλης standing in a position of unusual emphasis. If we place or rather replace the full-stop after ἐλικτάς, the line concisely states the fact the interpolater elaborates with so much ridiculous detail, finally challenging admiration for the wonders he has revealed.

199 ταῦτά μοι εἶπέ, γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἴ πον ὄπωπας
ἀνέρα ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί διαπρήσσοντα κέλευθον.

Read ταῦτά μ' ἔνισπε for the sake of the metre. For full proof of this v. *Homeric*, p. 95. In the second line τῇσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί would be an improvement.

209 ὅς τις ὁ παῖς, ἅμα βουσὶν ἐνκραίρησιν ὀπήδει.

Probably ὅς τις ὀπισθ', which might easily suggest ὁ παῖς, especially after the preceding παῖδα δ' ἔδοξα (originally perhaps παῖδ' ἔδοκησα). In 211 κάρη δ' ἔχεν (or ἔχον) ἀντίον αὐτῷ should certainly be ἀντίον αὐτῶς 'right facing him,' cf. Γ 220 ἄφρονά τ' αὐτῶς. Φ 474 ἀνεμῶλιον αὐτῶς.

218 ἔχνιά τ' εἰσενόησεν Ἑκηβόλος εἰπέ τε μῦθον.

The substitution of Ἀπόλλων for Ἑκηβόλος would suffice to restore the metre, and no one need hesitate to make the change; for it is surely impossible to maintain that in the old epic the tradition is immaculate, when in the forefront of a drama (the *Alcestis*) we find ἥλιος actually and absurdly displacing this very Ἀπόλλων.

We might, indeed, retain Ἑκηβόλος by reading ἥρχέ τε μύθου instead of εἰπέ τε μῦθον, but the tampering with the varying names is more probable here, see note on *Hymn. Apoll.* 177 f. (*Cl. Rev.* XXXII. p. 144) and 286 (*id.* XXXIV. p. 85) as instances in point, also *Hymn* XXV. 2.

ἐκ γὰρ Μουσῶν καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,

where the ending should certainly be Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο, as serious a metrical offence to the later Greeks as the false tradition would have been to their ancestors who listened to the early epic poet.

224 οὔτε τι κένταυρον λασιαύχενα ἔλπομαι εἶναι,
ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν·

The MSS. give κενταύρου λασιαύχενος. The acc. (Schneidewin, Abel) is necessary metrically and called for by the turn to the sentence given by the next line ὅς τις κτλ. 'I do not expect that he who makes (or made) such tracks is (or was) a Centaur. The accusative is the expression of a poet; the genitive that of a short-sighted grammarian.

My own correction here concerns only 225. I submit the true reading would be

ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρ βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν·

So we have—

ι 428 τῆς ἔπι Κύκλωψ εἶδε πέλωρ, ἀθεμίστια εἰδώς
Σ 410 ἦ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀκμοθέτοιο πέλωρ αἶητον ἀνέστη
μ 87 γίγνεται, αὐτὴ δ' αὖτε πελωρ κακόν·
H. Apoll. 374 αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος ἡελίοιο.
401 νηῖ θοῇ, καὶ κείτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε·

In our passage the point is, 'What monster made such tracks as these?' The character of the tracks is sufficiently portrayed in the next line,

αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖ', ἔτι δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο,

in which the traditional ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' has been, I think, more correctly written, cf. ἔτι μάλλον *passim*, ἔτι πλέονας, etc.

230 ἀμβροσίη ἐλόχευσε Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.

Read ἀμβρότη ἐξελόχευσε. The adj. ἀμβρόσιος is never applied to a person, nor is it reasonable to suppose that the hymn-writer was unaware of this. In later days the two epithets were held to be synonymous, and the more pleasing form ἀμβρόσιος, naturally the more popular one, nearly swept away ἀμβροτος altogether.

- 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ' · ἥύτε πολλὴν
 πρέμνων ἀνθρακιῇν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
 ὡς Ἑρμῆς Ἑκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεείλε' ἔ' αὐτόν.
 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε.
 (241) φή ῥα νεόλλουτος, προκαλούμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον
 ἐγρήσσων ἑτέον γε · χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχε.

As there is no real difference between logs and timber, πρέμνα and ὕλη, there is good reason for mistrusting or rather for rejecting ὕλης σποδός for which M has ὀλοσποδός. Hermann's suggestion οὐλη σποδός, which I take to mean 'fluffy ash,' is in every respect more to the purpose.

In 239 Ἑκάεργον like Ἑκηβόλον in 218 cannot be right. In all probability Ἑρμῆς also is merely a gloss on a pre-existent pronoun which is all that is here necessary. Then the line might take this form :

ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' Ἀπόλλωνα ἰδὼν ἀνεείλε' ἔ' αὐτόν,

or with the usual epic tmesis ὡς ὃ γ' ἐς Ἀπ. The correction of ἀλέεινεν ἑαυτόν (MSS.) is due to Lohsee and Postgate. This ἔ' αὐτόν would be originally ἔ'F' αὐτόν. In the next line Gemoll's συνέελσε is obviously right for συνέλασσε which implies a more or less violent collision quite out of place here.

The faulty tradition of 241 presents a very great, if not insuperable, difficulty. The first three words vary in a remarkable manner.

δῆ ῥα νεόλλουτος
 θῆρα νέον λοχάων.

The situation is this. Hermes has curled himself up in bed and is pretending to be sound asleep, though he is really wide awake. Beyond all doubt this is the meaning down to the middle of 242, if ἐγρήσσων ἑτέον γε be right, as all seem ready to admit. But can it be reasonably maintained that the line given above

φή ῥα νεόλλουτος, προκαλούμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον

gives the required representation or fits the scene at all? Clearly it does not. In Mr. Evelyn White's translation I find 'like a new born child seeking sweet sleep.' There is a great difference between 'seeking sleep' and 'feigning sleep,' and προκαλούμενος means neither, the proper sense being 'challenging.' Then for the first phrase, as there is no doubt but Hermes *was* a new born child, it is idle to say he was like one. This consideration disposes of the emendation φή for δῆ originally made by Barnes and afterwards by Hermann in an unhappy moment, and latterly hailed as 'brilliant' by two misleading editors. Here it is quite misplaced and useless. Further consideration must be given to δῆ ῥα (which may be found in this position in θ 423 δῆ ῥα τότε) and particularly to λοχάων which might have been corrupted into -λουτος after νέον, but could not conceivably itself arise from any depravation of such an original. Now λοχάων means 'ambushing' or 'being in ambush' and occurs frequently in Homer, e.g. δ 847 λοχώντες Ἀχαιοί, Σ 520 εἶκε λοχῆσαι 'there was room for an ambush,' and there is also a form ἔλλοχάω found in later writers, but not necessarily unepic (Plat. *Theaet.* 165 D). Now if ἔλλοχάων means ἐν λόχῳ ὣν we may without extravagance assume that ἐλλεχάων would be the same as ἐν λέχει ὣν and this is precisely the meaning required here, which might also be expressed by ἐλλέχιος. The double λλ of νεόλλουτος lends some support to both alternatives.

There still remains a serious obstacle to the restoration of the line in προκαλούμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον. To my mind καλούμενος seems to point directly to κηλούμενος

sc. ὕπνῳ in which case either ἡδυμον or προ- must be excluded. Of the two ἡδυμον is most probably insititious, and προ almost certainly is a misreading of an abbreviated πολλῶ. Thus we reach for the ending

πολλῶ κηλεύμενος ὕπνῳ

‘spell bound in deep sleep’ and for the whole line a fair approximation to the original might be:

δὴ ῥα νέος λεχάων, πολλῶ κηλεύμενος ὕπνῳ

‘just, as it seemed (ῥα), a young child abed, spell-bound in deep sleep’ or with less regard to the tradition the opening words might run

νήπιος ἐλλεχάων

or even ἐλλικνάων (cf. 254) ‘an infant in the cradle.’

261 Λητοῖδῃ, τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ἔειπας,
καὶ βόως ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ’ ἰκάνεις;

For καί Matthiae conjectured ἦ which he afterwards retracted. On the other hand Abel adopts it in his text. It does not necessarily imply that Hermes did not know the reason for Apollo’s coming. To ask ‘Is this the place you come to in quest of oxen?’ is quite appropriate in itself and need not be abandoned, ‘quod esset eius, qui quae caussa Apollini ueniendi fuisset nesciret,’ as Matthiae himself supposed. Therefore, if ἦ be rejected, it must be for a different reason, as will be seen later.

The reading given above, the traditional reading, adopted by Gemoll and by Sikes and Allen, is inadmissible. As S. and A. rightly say, the sense is: ‘Why do you speak so sharply and come in quest of cows?’ But there is no ‘why’ in the first question; τίνα μῦθον means ‘what word’ or ‘what saying,’ nor can the necessary ‘why’ be extracted from τίνα for the second question.

This is obvious at a glance, as also, it might be supposed, is the simple and certain remedy from the change of one letter only (α to υ):

Λητοῖδῃ, τί νυ τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ἔειπας,
καὶ βόας ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ’ ἰκάνεις;

Cf. A 424 τί νύ σ’ ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα; α 62 τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσαο, Ζεῦ; cum multis aliis locis.

266 οὐκ ἐμὲν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν.
ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός.

As the metre indicates, and as the construction confirms, for ἔργον, ἄλλα, ὕπνος, γάλα, ἔχειν, and λόετρα are all subjects to the verb μέμηλε twice repeated, οὐ μοι should be read for οὐκ ἐμὲν; otherwise πάρος would be less efficient in its clause.

But in the second line ἡμετέρης is remarkable after ἐμὲν, μοι, and ἐμοί γε: even the needs of the metre barely excuse the plurality here, especially when we notice that μητρός without any addition says all that is required. In δ 89 we find ἐπηετανὸν γάλα θῆσθαι and in σ 360 σῖτον μὲν ἐπηετανὸν παρέχοιμι. This makes me inclined to think that the redundant ἡμετέρης is a later substitute for the somewhat similar, but archaic, epithet I have quoted. Its restoration involves a very trifling accommodation thus:

ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλ’ ἰδ’ ἐπηετανὸν γάλα μητρός.

The idea of Gemoll and others that ἡμετέρης is used for ἐμῆς because Hermes is standing on his dignity is a misapprehension of the scene. Hermes is ready, I freely admit, to adopt any pose to suit the occasion; but here he is playing the part of the simple, innocent and helpless baby who could do nothing for himself, but was

dependent on others for everything. It is quite futile to refer to v. 465. There he is the master-player on the lyre: here he calls himself *παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα*.

272 βουσὶ μετ' ἀγραύλοισι·

This reading is clearly wrong. It appears in the Oxford text, though all the later editors follow Schneidewin in his necessary correction *βουσὶν ἐπ'*. So Abel, Gemoll, and even Evelyn-White who is usually content to follow Mr. Allen. They all have Stadtmüller's *διέκ* instead of *διά* in the preceding line, *διέκ προθύροιο περήσαι*. Messrs. S. and A. offer a remarkable defence of the tradition. They say that 'Hermes remarks that it would be strange for a child to come *through* (*διά*) the door *with* (*μετά*) oxen. This sense,' they proceed, 'seems quite possible, as Apollo expected to find the cows inside the cave (246 sq.). At any rate Apollo thought it desirable to look if they were there, and had satisfied himself that they were not. But even if they had been found inside, driven in by Hermes from the rear, the proper expression here would still have been *βουσὶν ἐπ' ἀγρ.* not *βουσὶ μετ' ἀγρ.*, unless Hermes adopted a method of getting his herd in which no one ever tried or ever is likely to try as long as the world lasts. The immortals might well be astonished.

As to the appearance of *μέτα* in the tradition I expect it was a marginal remark of some one who knew that *μετά* 'in quest of' would have suited the passage, and then it was taken for a variant despite the datives. With the datives *μετά* is simply preposterous nonsense. 'The general view that Hermes speaks of going out' to steal the cows is the only tenable one and the attempt to shake it fails completely. The inception of the enterprise is the marvel, not a closing incident that never occurred.

T. L. AGAR.

MANCHESTER.

'CIRIS.'

My colleague, Professor W. M. Lindsay, invites, or challenges, me to reply to his note on 'Cirís' (*Class. Quart.* XIX., pp. 103, 104); I can but take him at his word.

Professor Lindsay seeks to identify the two birds *Haliaetus* and *Ciris*, and finds the task an easy one; he identifies *Ciris* with a *Tern* confidently and categorically. We learn (he says) 'from Gallus' epyllium . . . that it was a sea-bird with red legs, so rapid in flight that it always evaded the swoop of the sea-eagle. What can this be but a tern?'

Were we quite sure that *Ciris* was a sea-bird, certain also that the poet was dealing with matters of fact and doing his best to describe a scene witnessed on the shore, we might consider Professor Lindsay's conclusion to be at least a plausible one, and his identification as near the truth as scanty evidence permits; but I am sure of none of these things. I am sure that the story is a mystical one; it is not about a real King nor a real Princess, and it may well be that the birds are as fabulous as the Princess and the King.

To identify a classical bird-name is sometimes easy; when it is not plain and easy it is apt to be very hard indeed. We depend on three sorts of evidence: on tradition, on actual descriptions of plumage or allusions to habit, and on the names which survive (sometimes with astonishing vitality) in Modern Greek and in Italian dialects. In the case of *Ciris* there is no tradition to guide us, nor can I find a trace of the name in modern dialects. This latter fact is remarkable enough; it tempts me to believe that the word never was vernacular, that it never was a name used in popular speech to signify a familiar species of bird.

But when we fall back upon description there is more in the 'epyllium' than

Professor Lindsay quotes. Whatever bird it was, the Ciris was a very beautiful bird—it was more beautiful than Leda's Amyclaeon swan. A tern is a very beautiful and very graceful bird, but to compare it, however remotely, with a swan is, to say the least of it, a far-fetched comparison. It might be partly justified by the shining whiteness of the tern; but what does the poet say of the plumage of Ciris? 'At mollis uarios intexens pluma colores | marmoreum uolucris uestiuit tegmina corpus.' Why, we are told in plain words that it was not white at all, but many-hued. I have seen black terns (which are common in Italy), and black terns with white wings, and white terns with their tint of silvery grey; but I cannot recognize one of them in that phrase, 'uarios intexens pluma colores.' I do not suppose that these words point to a pied or parti-coloured bird, a sort of popinjay; they rather suggest to me the iridescent hues of a dove, to which the poets often allude in similar phraseology. You have it in Ausonius: 'Iricolor uario pinxit quas pluma colore, | collum columbas aemulas'—a fairly close parallel to our epyllium. You have it in Lucretius, where he describes how the peacock's tail and the dove's neck shift their colours in the sunlight: 'Pluma columbarum quo pacto in sole uidetur | quae sita ceruices circum collumque coronat,' etc. You have the same thing in Seneca (*Q. Nat.* I. 7, 2), and in Cicero's remarkable and far-reaching phrase: 'in columba plures uideri colores, nec esse plus uno.' I did not set out to prove that Ciris was a dove, but you could more easily persuade me that it was so than that it was a *tern*. Moreover, the rock-pigeon, though not a 'sea-bird,' haunts the caves and hollows of the sea-cliffs, and is the prey there of hawk and eagle: ἡ ῥα θ' ὕψ' ἔρηκος κοίλῃν εἰσέπτειτο πέτρην, χήραμον. When Professor Lindsay quotes, from Dresser, that in Epirus and Acarnania, 'Almost every large breeding-place of sea-fowl is also inhabited by a sea-eagle, preying at pleasure on his weaker neighbours,' the rock-dove is one of the first of those 'weaker neighbours' to come into one's mind. A phrase like Ovid's 'sic aquilam fugiunt penna trepidante columbae' has the changes rung upon it by one poet after another; the dove and the eagle are the stock illustration, the hackneyed parable, of pursuer and pursued.

But there remains that small piece of evidence which seems so crucial to Professor Lindsay's mind—the red legs of the Ciris. True, some of the terns have red legs and so have some of the gulls, but some only. Were the common tern, with its red legs, a bird well known in literature, we might think of it here; but there is no known allusion to it, nor is there any proof that it had any specific appellation. Was Gallus the only poet who knew the tern so well as to introduce it into his poetry?

There are other difficulties. Professor Lindsay says or quotes: 'The common tern (*Sterna hirundo*), with coral-red legs, includes in its wide range Mediterranean shores.' Yet the bird is rare in Italy, according to Dresser, Salvadori, and others; but Giglioli says that it is fairly common in some places, especially in Lombardy and Piedmont. It breeds 'in abbondanza sulle isolette del Po'; in other words, it is not a bird of the sea-cliffs nor of 'every large breeding-place of sea-fowl.' Three terns are comparatively common: the Lesser Tern breeds, like the common tern, on the islands of the Po, but further south is scarce, and seen mostly as a bird of passage; the Sandwich Tern is fairly common in the Adriatic, and nests also in Liguria; the Black Tern is not rare, though local, and is for the most part seen on its spring and autumn migrations. Of these, the Little Tern has feet with a tinge of orange, but in the others, and in all other Italian terns save *st. fluviatilis*, the feet are *black*. We seem led to the conclusion that, if Gallus were enough of an ornithologist to know a tern when he saw one, he would probably have seen many a tern with black feet for one with red; and if he did see a red-footed tern it would probably be on the Lombard rivers, and not with the sea-eagles on the cliffs of the sea.

But, speaking of red legs, nothing is more familiar than the coral feet of a dove. I cannot think of a quotation apt to the point in Greek or Latin, but the fact is known to everybody. The 'minioque infecta rubenti | crura' are very far indeed from identifying Ciris with a tern.

There is yet another character which the poet attributes to the bird Ciris, and which Professor Lindsay has forgotten to cite—it was a *crested* bird: 'Tum, qua se medium capitis discrimen agebat, | ecce repente, uelut patrios imitatus honores, | *purpuream concussit apex in uertice cristam.*' The terns in full plumage have black heads, but they are by no means 'crested' birds; a 'purple crest' or anything of the sort none of them possess. This 'capitis discrimen' is no sober fact of ornithological observation; it is quite enough to convince me that the poet was playing with his own fancy, and describing a more than half-imaginary bird, no more to be brought under ornithological nomenclature than Phoenix or herald's martlet. As Eugen Siecke says (*De Niso et Scylla in aves mutatis*, Diss., Berlin, 1884): 'Desinamus tandem aliquando ab hominibus rerum naturalium peritis sciscitare quatenus avis sit Ciris; inepte sane qui id diligenter quaerunt,' etc.

Professor Lindsay pours contempt on allegorical interpretation. 'Last century,' he tells us, 'when the Solar Myth was in fashion, we should have been told that the sea-eagle was the sun, the tern the moon'; and in his view it is only 'a Dionysiac reveller' who 'might see the sun swooping—yes, swooping vindictively and repeatedly at the moon.' This ridicule is misplaced. Sun-myths are 'out of fashion' since Max Müller and his school ran them nearly to the death; but it is throwing out the baby with the bath-water (as the Germans say) to assert that there is no such thing as astronomic myth in poetic allegory. The oldest of the sciences studied the heavenly bodies in their courses, and those who figured the constellations made the sky a picture-book for men; it would be strange, indeed, if poet and story-teller never told a tale out of that picture-book, nor wove a fable round the journey of the Sun and the wanderings of the Moon. Years ago, in Japan, a Japanese scholar said to me: 'Don't suppose that when we paint a sparrow and two bamboos we mean a bamboo and two sparrows'; in Eastern art there is always something more behind. The Eastern mind craves for symbolism and talks in riddles; and in this respect Greek art and Oriental art are at one. We may fail to recognize, we may fail to interpret fully, the riddles of Greek myth; but we cannot deny that Greek legends and myths are replete with allegory.

It is plain and obvious that the story of Nisus and Scylla is closely akin to that of Samson and Delilah. Tzetzes (ad *Lyc.* 648) was the first to point this out, and I know no one who has denied it. I for one will not abandon the interpretation of Samson's hair as the Sun's rays, wherein his great strength lay, nor the belief that the Sun's name is written in Hebrew letters in that of the Strong Man. All this may be out of fashion, but I am not left alone in my belief. Professor Otto Keller is a very learned scholar and a cautious one; no living man knows the plain natural history of the ancients as he knows it. But in regard to Haliaetus and Ciris Professor Otto Keller's view is precisely my own. He compares, point by point, the Ciris with the Samson myth: 'Auch Nisus bedeutet, seinem mythischen Inhalte nach, die Sonne, die goldene oder purpurne Haare die goldroten Sonnenstrahle der untergehenden Abendsonne,' u.s.w. (cf. *Ant. Tierwelt* II., pp. 10-12). I need not quote more. I said just the same thing in my *Glossary of Greek Birds* some thirty years ago, and on this matter I have not changed my mind. On a point of detail I am inclined to modify my opinion. I once believed the scene to represent the full Moon in opposition to the Sun, the one rising as the other sets; now it seems to me more likely that *κείpis* was *luna senescens*, the 'sickle-moon,' a fugitive in the morning twilight, with the sun following close behind.

Solar myths of hawk and eagle are world-wide and innumerable. You have

them in Egypt, in the Hawk of Osiris; you have them in the Vedas; in Siecke's paper there is a pretty full discussion of them. There are many references in Greek literature to the myth of Haliaetus and Ciris, but in none of them do I find evidence to conflict with Otto Keller's interpretation and my own. In Dionysius' *De Avibus* (II. 14) the tale is briefly told of the bird κίρρις, hated of all birds for her crimes: κ' ἂν ἀλιαίετος αὐτὴν θεάσθαι πλανωμένην, εὐθὺς ἐπιθέμενος διαφθείρει. The book deals for the most part with matter-of-fact ornithology, but here, in this paragraph, there is not the slightest allusion to κίρρις as a real bird. Hyginus (*Fab.* 198) tells how Scylla was turned into the fish κίρρις, and how the sea-eagle 'quando eum piscem conspexerit, mittit se in aquam raptumque unguibus dilaniat.' As natural history it is a very different story; as allegory it is plainly another version of the same thing. The Hesychian glosses are a minor matter, and Professor Lindsay quotes them, but not in full. It is curious, to say the least of it, that in the gloss, Κέρις · ὄρνειον, ἰέραξ · οἱ δὲ ἀλκινόνα, Hesychius should introduce that most mythical and mystical of birds, the Halcyon; it is not less curious that, s.vv. κίρις, κίρρις, he should define both not only as birds (ὄρνειον, ἰέραξ), but also as λύχνοι, and should identify both of them with Adonis. We are again far outside of the plain prose of ornithology.

Professor Lindsay agrees to the view that the four great lines at the end of the *Ciris* have been incorporated in the *Georgics* (I. 406-409); I said so thirty years ago. But Professor Lindsay also declares that Virgil first wrote them in the *Ciris*, and that it was he who transferred them to the *Georgics*; I venture to doubt. In their place in the *Ciris* these lines are in perfect keeping; they come in their natural sequence without break of sense or change of style. I do not agree with Leo (*Hermes* XXXVII., 1902, p. 47) when he says, 'diese Verse zu dichten war der Verfasser dieses Gedichtes nicht im Stande.' They are very beautiful lines, but there are lines as good in the body of the poem; the poet could have written them who wrote, 'Omnia vincit amor; quid enim non vinceret ille?' Where they stand in the *Georgics*, on the other hand, they are out of place; they change the style and interrupt the sense of the passage. Take the lines immediately before, 'de culmine summo | nec quicquam seros exercet noctua cantus' (403-4), and those immediately after (410 sq.) 'Tum liquidas corui presso ter gutture uoces | aut quater ingeminant,' etc.: they seem to me to run right on as parts of a single phrase. The *Ciris* lines set in between are not only an interpolation, but an inartistic one.

Now, however, I am the cobbler away from his last. I sat down not to dispute with my colleague on points of scholarship, but to refute his identification of a bird.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

ST. ANDREWS.

HORACE, *ODES* I. XII. AND THE *FORUM AUGUSTUM*.

INTERPRETATION of this ode has not been very happy in spite of the care lavished upon it by editors obviously determined to extract some sort of consistent sense. That Horace started from Pindar's *Olymp.* II. is evident enough; when and why, under what stimulus, or for what occasion he wrote is not so clear. The older commentators do not give much help. I believe, however, that in attending to the list of gods, demi-gods, and Roman heroes given in the ode we have a chance of coming somewhere near to an adequate understanding of the poem.

In this list of exalted beings, Juppiter, Pallas, Liber, Diana, and Phoebus represent the gods. They are rather more than less warlike. Pallas is described as *proeliis audax*; Diana is the huntress; Phoebus is the archer. The heroes are Hercules and Castor and Pollux, the two last being a pair hardly separable. The former is called the Mighty Warrior (Alcides); the Twins have attributed to them boxing and horsemanship and tutelary functions in regard to mariners. They are all three connected with Roman history.

Amongst the Roman worthies, Romulus, Numa, Tarquinius Superbus, are representatives of the regal period; Cato (Minor), Regulus, the Scauri, Paulus (of Cannae), Fabricius, Curius, Camillus of the republican age; whilst Marcellus (if Augustus' nephew) and the Julian Star seem to stand for modern or contemporary merit, together with (Augustus) Caesar himself, who is to reign on earth under, and very distinctly under, the tutelary hand of Juppiter.

The Romans are, on the whole, rather unwarlike. Cato, Regulus, the Scauri, Paulus were all victims of war, but were all on the defeated side. Cato, Regulus, the younger Scaurus, Paulus all may be said to have laid down their lives by deliberate choice for some Roman purpose. Fabricius, Curius, and Camillus are notable warriors; but their thrifty habits of a bygone age are in this ode emphasized rather than their soldierly merits. (Of Marcellus one cannot speak in this connexion, so long as it must remain in doubt to which Marcellus reference is made.)

What is Horace's principle of selection? It can perhaps be discerned if Horace may be presumed to have made the selection, not from the complete *album* of gods, heroes, and worthies, but from a particular section (wide but not unlimited)—the portrait galleries of the *Forum Augustum*. Augustus had, before Philippi, vowed a temple to Mars Ultor, and he fulfilled his vow with a completeness and ostentation in keeping with the success which he had met with in avenging Julius Caesar. The result was a magnificent temple and forum distinguished by some of the masterpieces of Hellenic sculpture and painting, formally dedicated not until 2 B.C.¹ Amongst these works of art was, it is conjectured, the statue of Athena Alea;² *item* a statue of Apollo;³ *item* two pictures by Apelles, one of Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, the other of War in Chains with Alexander the Great;⁴ two statues which Alexander used to carry with him on his campaigns (subjects unknown?)

¹ But perhaps sufficiently forward to house the standards recovered from Parthia in 20 B.C. (*Mon. Anc.* 5. 40).

² Gardthausen, *Augustus u. s. Z.* I. 974, II. 589, referring to Pausanias 8, 46, I. 4 and Overbeck, *G. d. gr. Plastik*, fourth edition, 92 and 420.

³ Pliny, *N.H.* 7. 183: 'eques Romanus ante

Apollinem eboreum, qui est in foro Augusti.'

⁴ Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 4. 27; 35. 10. 93-94: 'Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro in curru triumphante, quas utrasque tabulas diuus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicauerat.'

and a statue of Minerva.¹ In the forecourt of the temple were, to east and west, two galleries containing the worthies of Rome—Alban kings, Roman kings, Roman republicans. Ovid gives the arrangement summarily in *Fasti* V. 563-566:

hinc uidet Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis auos:
hinc uidet Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,
claraque dispositis acta subesse uiris.

Thus, Mars Ultor could see such people as Aeneas, with father and gods, Valerius Corvus and Scipio Aemilianus, the one with his bird and the other with his *corona obsidionalis* won in Africa. Mars, coming to town for the first time, was made acquainted with men of distinction who had perhaps been somewhat stranger to him outside the walls. Though great warriors predominated in the galleries they were not the only 'lions.' Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator was included with M. Furius Camillus; Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus with C. Duilius, probably without the piper. The dictator Sulla found a place not far from C. Marius. The censor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and L. Aemilius Paulus also were included in a very comprehensive list which is now no longer known in full.² Finally, we know that Augustus had a *quadriga* (or more than one) for himself in his forum. He mentions it (or them) in the *Mon. Ancyr.*; and there was a statue, with star on head, of Julius Caesar—very naturally, since it was his murder which Mars avenged.³

It is quite possible that Horace, strolling in *celeberrimis partibus* of the growing forum, was inspired by imported masterpieces. He could have found his material there. And more, there is evidence which seems rather strongly to indicate that such was the case in fact. Of Horace's five gods two (with our mutilated record, owing so much to a single author not specially concerned with the *Forum Augustum*) are known to have been represented in the *Forum Augustum* by statues worthy of special record in art catalogues. Of the three demi-gods (really one and a pair) two (i.e. the pair) were in that forum in a notable picture by Apelles. Of the Roman worthies some are known to have been in the galleries, and all, with the possible exception of Cato Minor and a Scaurus, must have been included in a list as long as Augustus made. The most cogent piece of evidence favouring our inference lies in the significant and natural interpretation which we are able to give to *Odes* I. xii. 46-48:

micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus uelut inter ignis
luna minores.

The starred statue of Julius Caesar shines amongst—and outshines—the lesser lights of Rome in the *Forum Augustum*; and it is a poet's work to catch the hint given by that star. Further, we see how Horace may have been led to Pindar's *Olymp.* II. from a contemplation of the august *Quadriga* (or *Quadrigae*), and how clearly he saw that it was Augustus' desire to be regarded as not a bad second in the local theocracy.

To fill in the gaps in our evidence Vergil must be brought forward. It is plain enough that he has been again to the *Forum Augustum* (where it was in all probability

¹ So Gardthausen, following Wunderer, *Manibae Alexandrinae*, Schulpr. v. Würzburg, 1893-1894, pp. 27-28. Here, as elsewhere, I have relied upon Gardthausen for such details—a method which has its own advantages, since the theorist is not tempted to reconstruct the old buildings in the interest of his new theories.

² I have accepted Gardthausen's facts here

without investigation of the sources quoted, which are not accessible to me. The names may be conjectured, anyhow, with much probability, and are not important enough here for a discussion.

³ Gardthausen, *Augustus u. s. Zeit.* I. 974-975, II. 589—referring to Babelon, I. 431, No. 81.

that he saw Apelles' picture of War in Chains¹) in order to compose *Aeneid* VI. 703-892. So closely to the galleries has he stood to work that he has not been able—or has not cared—to obliterate all traces of transference from sculpture to literature. He has, of course, no call to mention the gods of the *Forum Augustum*; neither is he interested in Apelles' Greek heroes. Concerned alone with the great names of Roman history he has arranged his progressive throng in groups substantially corresponding to their arrangement in the galleries of the *Forum Augustum*. As in the galleries, so in the poem it is Augustus (as a Julian and the greatest Julian) who is the link between Alban and Roman history, royal and republican regime; and we get a statuesque description of Silvius: '*pura iuuenis qui nititur hasta.*'

Dealing with Romulus, Vergil writes:

uiden ut geminae stant uertice cristae
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?—

words which are full of meaning if understood to have been written for the Romulus in front of Mars Ultor. And suddenly after a contemplation of the virtues of Rome's heroic figures Anchises is made to exclaim:

exudent alii spirantia mollius aera
(credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uoltus.

No doubt the mass production of statues for such a collection as that of the *Forum Augustum* was well calculated to show the difference between Alexander's sculptors and those at the command of Augustus. Vergil, a keen student of painting and sculpture, has left his opinion on Hellenic and Hellenistic art—'credo equidem.'

Now, Vergil and Horace have points of contact. The fact that both select for mention, amongst the Roman names, two Caesars, Romulus, Numa, Tarquinius Superbus, Camillus, Fabricius, a Porcius, an Aemilius, an Atilius (Serranus-Regulus) must not be pressed unduly to show contact between Horace and Vergil here; it may be the selection of some at least of these names was inevitable for both poets. But we find Vergil writing (*Aen.* VI. 817-818):

Tarquinius reges animamque superbam,
ultoris Bruti fascisque . . . superbos.

and Horace, writing:

superbos | Tarquini fasces.

Also, both Vergil and Horace close their list of Roman undeified heroes with a mention of Marcellus.

Granted that Vergil is writing in the shadow of the *Forum Augustum*, the suspicion that Horace also has the galleries in mind must be considerably strengthened, if we find a literary relationship between *Aeneid* VI. and *Odes* I. xii. This splendid *Forum*, vowed in 42 B.C. and finally complete for dedication of Mars' temple in 2 B.C., must have been attracting much attention round about 23 B.C.

We find that Vergil, seeking for conquering kings to compare with Augustus, picks out Hercules and Bacchus, the triumphators of West and East. These he names Alcides and Liber. Did he find these conquerors in the galleries of the *Forum Augustum*? Horace also mentions Liber, side by side with (Diana and) Phoebus, a fine statue of whom was, we know by good fortune and chance, in the

¹ *Aeneid* I. 294-296: '*claudentur Belli portae: Furor impius intus
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aenis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.*'

Forum Augustum. Horace mentions Alcides, too, side by side with Castor and Pollux, whose picture by Apelles was, we know, a feature of the *Forum Augustum*. Thus we are emboldened to conjecture that Liber and Alcides were represented in exotic marble, ivory, or paint in the galleries—perhaps those two bronze statues which used to support Alexander's tent? At least, they seem most appropriate for a world-conqueror to have before his eyes for contemplation and emulation.

If we may go so far, there seems no further reason to resist the conclusion that Horace has made, as Vergil has made in *Aeneid* VI., a selection from the good and bad art of the galleries of the *Forum Augustum* with its temple of Mars Ultor. And, after all, this fact, if fact it may be called, does explain how Horace gets together gods, demi-gods, and Roman heroes for mention and approval.¹ They are not found together in every corner side by side with the Julian star—and, we may perhaps add not unfairly, with an august *quadriga*.

Some such theory is manifestly required. When Horace assigns to Pallas second place in this wide aristocracy he must do so on particular, not on general, grounds, i.e. he must do so with reference to a particular set of circumstances. Where is she second and next to Juppiter? Certainly in versions of the Gigantomachy. But the Gigantomachy will not include the rest of the list, nor explain Horace's 'dubito' in v. 35. The *Forum Augustum* probably fulfils all the necessary conditions.

Vergil's method of selection and arrangement, interesting as it is in itself, does not concern us here save in so far as it throws light on the principle of Horace's selection. Horace has given perhaps the (artistically) finest gods of the galleries, and has given them in their warlike characters, touching less on their more pacific, and to Romans perhaps more characteristic, attributes. Does he thereby point to the temple of Mars Ultor, or at least betray the influences under which he wrote? When he comes to the demi-gods he makes them rather less warlike. Castor and Pollux are not merely the dashing young Spartans, slayers of Lynceus and Idas. But when he comes to the Romans, then his selection is truly remarkable. Vergil takes proud Tarquin and links him with Avenger Brutus. Horace drops out *Ultor Brutus* altogether. For Vergil's *magne Cato* (i.e. Cato the Censor and Triumphator) Horace has *Catonis nobile letum* (i.e. Cato the Pompeian partisan and the defeated). For Vergil's Paulus, conqueror of Achaea, Horace has Paulus of Cannæ, the defeated, as representative of the Atilian gens. Vergil gives us Serranus—whoever he is—apparently one of the good old ploughtail senators; while Horace selects Regulus of African fame, the defeated. For Vergil's Aemilian thunderbolt of war, Scipio Aemilianus, Horace has Scauri—presumably the father and son who acted a tragedy of defeat in the Cimbrian war. It is true that Horace also mentions Curius and Camillus as *utilem bello*; but his chief praise seems to be bestowed on their unshorn locks and frugal habits. All this is somewhat extraordinary, or at the least it requires special explanation in a poem which was, as we presume, inspired by the *Forum Augustum* with its temple of Mars Ultor. But more extraordinary is that which the critical reader will have already long noticed—the total absence of Mars Ultor from the ode. Juppiter Pater reigns, not Mars Ultor. Once the absence is distinctly recognized we have the solution to any puzzle in the ode; we have Horace's meaning.

* * * * *

Horace was a short, fat man—one with a certain obstinacy and pugnacity in his composition—and also with a certain sense of decency, well above the average Roman of his time. Such a man, seeing the magnificent temple and forum built so high to

¹ A contemporary reader would have little difficulty in placing the ode—less, if, as I suspect, Horace wrote after Vergil's sixth *Aeneid* had been read to Octavia.

thank an avenging war-god in return for the mercy of Philippi, will not acquiesce¹ in the *damnatio memoriae* implied for republican anti-Caesarians; will not agree that they all should be accursed by the verdict of Rome's whole history arrayed against them by the sculptors of Greece and Rome.

And when such a man is also a man who fought as an officer at Philippi on the side of Brutus and Cassius and who paid for his political faith, he will even protest against this glorification of Mars Ultor; he will refuse to be told in peperino and marble that he and all his republican fellows are murderous scoundrels, vermin to be extirpated by the common rat-catcher Mars.

This impudent person of servile extraction tells his Emperor that the sword has no weight in the scales of justice. It is out with Mars and in with Juppiter; off with the imperial cloak and on with the judge's gown. For that change of heart and habit is a necessary prelude to the vaunted New Age—the reign of Right.

And what fault precisely has Augustus committed? Merely he has claimed to exercise divine vengeance—nothing more and nothing less. Horace will resist the claim. He arms his gods; for they can be trusted to exercise superhuman powers in wisdom and subordination. He stands up for Cato and the lost causes and for himself. In the last stanza of his ode the energetic protest passes all courtly bounds, as he pounds out in reiteration his displeasure:

‘Thy servant shall he justly guide this earth,
Thy thunder warn us of the wrath divine;
And where hearts heedless are and fallen faiths,
Whose bolt shall blast? ’Tis thine.’

As Horace stands in the *Forum Augustum* before the temple of Mars Ultor and memorial of Philippi, what is his answer to the question he put in the first stanzas? ‘What god shall I praise? What hero? What man?’

The answer is Juppiter, not Mars Ultor; not the battling demi-god like Achilles, but the apostle of civilization, conqueror of wild-beast Cacus Alcides; not the Roman triumphator, but Cato the suicide. This is not modern pacifism, nor is it a lachrymose commiseration with failure. It is a protest against insult, an assertion of human dignity bolder than we have a right to expect. But can the court poet, who is soon to be retained to compose the *Carmen Saeculare*, afford to be so bold? Tax him with the crime of independence: remind him that ‘*quem uirum aut heroa lyra uel acri*’ goes far beyond ‘*quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem*,² and he will parry your august rebuke with the greatest ease in the world. For what prevents your reading his ode as a metrical critique on the galleries of the *Forum Augustum* rounded off with a little loyal sentiment? He asks: ‘What is my selection amongst these works of art? What god, what demi-god, what Roman hero of all that galaxy of beauty shall my Muse sing of?’ And he happens to prefer the statue of Juppiter to the statue of Mars. Bad taste it may be; but *de gustibus non disputandum*. His second choice is the Athena Alea—*proximos illi occupauit Pallas honores*.

Here surely his taste is unexceptionable; and he is good company when he elects to sing the praises of ivory Apollo and of Apelles’ Twin Brethren, and, perhaps we may add, of some Greek master’s Liber and Alcides. So it is with the rest. If Horace has a preference for the likeness of this or that Roman hero in the galleries, who is to complain? Amazing man, he has not only parried your rebuke; he is

¹ The same refusal may well be seen in *Odes* I. 2. ll. 43-44: *patiens uocari Caesaris ultor*. In that ode Horace speaks of another Avenger, who went too far in his vengeance, as ‘flaunting his office’—*Tiberim . . . dum se nimium querenti iactat ultorem*—and as acting ‘without the approval of

Juppiter’—*Ioue non probante*.

² R. S. Conway on *Horace as Poet Laureate* (in *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*. London: John Murray, 1921) points out the almost silent protest of this ode against imperial splendour for its own sake.

earning and deserving court favour by celebrating the imported glories of the *Forum Augustum*. Superficially, that is the import of the ode. For those who care to go below the surface there is a deeper and worthier significance—that which I have tried to indicate first.

It is often a difficult task to entitle a poem, and here I feel that 'The Masterpieces of our New Forum' would be inadequate. I would rather give prominence to the other side; and taking into consideration the sentiments expressed towards Augustus in anticipation of his future rule, I should not scruple overmuch to take the title from the last two lines: 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; I will repay.' But I am inclined to hesitate until I can be convinced that Horace has not in mind to play a grim and secret jest upon the emperor. For if there was one thing feared especially by Augustus, it was the bolt of Jupiter; and if (as Horace says) that bolt is sent against the impious, Augustus might well tremble even in his sealskin coat, since in the ancient theory of such matters none were so fitly an object of divine displeasure as those who aped divinity and arrogated to themselves divine rights.

D. L. DREW.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE.

'EVIL COMMUNICATIONS.'

OTHERS must have shared my surprise at reading the two articles on this subject in the *Classical Quarterly* (XIX., pp. 22 sqq., 92 sq.), one by Mr. P. H. Ling, writing 'in the light of our present knowledge,' and one by Professor H. J. Rose. Among the Hibeh Papyri (I. 7) is a fragment of an anthology which hereabouts contains quotations from Tragedy and Epicharmus. It gives four verses, the last of which was rightly identified by the editors Grenfell and Hunt. Of the lemma only a spot of ink on a loose fibre remains. When I last saw this papyrus at the Bodleian I seemed to see and guess:

ἔπειτα χρῆσθαι, [τέκνον, εὐλαβοῦ φίλοις
ὅσοι δοκοῦσιν εἰδ[έναι νόμων πλέον,
εἰδὼς ὁθούνεκ' αἶ[. . . .
φθείρουσιν ἥθ[.

My reading in line 2 differs slightly from that of the editors. It will be seen (a) that φθ. ἥθ. χ. ὁ. κ. is not strictly a monostich, since the sentence begins after ὁθούνεκα. (b) That the verses are written by a tragedian, presumably Euripides, who uses οἶδα ὁθούνεκα, the latter word being unknown to Attic comedy (see Headlam on Herodas V. 20). Verses included in such anthologies (or in the anthology which preceded Stobaeus: see my *First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1923) might well be in everyone's mouths from infancy, and would imply no research on the part of the writer quoting them. I find it hard, therefore, to concur in Mr. Ling's theory that possibly 'the line we are considering was the first line of the play': βραχὺς μὲν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν.

A. D. KNOX.

I am obliged to Mr. Knox for calling attention to the Hibeh papyrus fragment, which I am afraid had escaped my notice.

If the lines quoted form the original passage in Euripides, the contention of my paper is of course negatived; but, in my opinion, there is a good deal to be said for the view that, like those found earlier in the papyrus, which now appear in our MSS. of the *Electra*, they are really drawn from more than one source.

P. H. LING.

THE ALLEGED ACHAEAN ARBITRATION AFTER LEUCTRA.

Polybius II. 39. 9: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μόνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀχαιοῖς, οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβλέψαντες, σχέδον γὰρ ἐλαχίστην τότε γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶχον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον, εἰς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ὄλην καλοκαγαθίαν.

Strabo VIII. 7. 1 (p. 384): μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι τούτοις (sc. τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς) τὴν δίκαιαν περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

These statements have been treated with scant respect by modern scholars. One recent writer, A. Raeder,¹ has accepted them. But Grote² and von Stern³ have disputed them, and the rest have simply ignored them.

Grote's arguments are as follows:

1. The winners of Leuctra were too exuberantly confident to sue before a court.
2. The losers still had their sense of dignity: Spartans die, but do not arbitrate.
3. The Achaeans were held in too slight esteem to be chosen as arbitrators.

Two further points are made by von Stern:

4. The Achaeans remained loyal to Sparta after Leuctra, and thus disqualified themselves as a court of reference.

5. The story of Polybius and Strabo owes its origin to some patriotic Achaean forger, who caught these two writers napping.

To this list of objections we may add that—

6. Neither Xenophon nor Diodorus mentions the incident.

It is certain that the Achaeans did not stop Sparta and Thebes from fighting. Therefore either their award was repudiated or it was never made. But this does not prove that the dispute was never submitted to them. We must therefore examine the case in detail.

1. The silence of Xenophon and Diodorus is not a negative but a blank. Xenophon's account of the events after Leuctra is notoriously incomplete, and it omits such a relatively important move as the peace effort of Dionysius in 369-8 B.C.⁴ As for Diodorus, he compresses the entire diplomatic history of 370-362 B.C. into seventy-eight words.⁵ No conclusions can therefore be drawn from what these authors did not say.

2. Given an Achaean falsifier, it is hardly likely that he should have fabricated such an inglorious incident as an arbitration which ended in a fiasco. Neither is it probable that such a fiction should have deceived Polybius, who was on his guard against mere propaganda and could readily have looked up the point in Ephorus. Indeed, since Polybius accepted Ephorus as a standard authority, we may just as readily assume that Polybius' statement was derived from no other source. Should that be so, Polybius' story has excellent credentials, for Ephorus was a contemporary of the events in question and described them at length.⁶ In any case, there is no reason to believe that Polybius blindly followed a fraudulent guide.

3. In the first twelvemonth after Leuctra Theban policy showed little sign of

¹ *L'arbitrage international chez les Hellènes*, p. 523.

² *History of Greece*, VIII., p. 189 n. (1888 edition).

³ *Geschichte der spartanischen und thebanischen Hegemonie*, p. 154-5.

⁴ Hicks and Hill, 108, lines 18-26.

⁵ XV. 76. 4 and 89. 2.

⁶ E. Schwartz reckons that for the period in question he devoted one book to every two years (*Hermes*, 1909, p. 458). Presumably Ephorus was also the source of Strabo, who made great use of this author.

exuberant confidence, and, indeed, had little reason for such. As a set-off against their victory, the Thebans had met with undisguised ill-will at Athens,¹ and in Jason of Pherae they had found a rival whose mere presence prevented them from following up their success. Hence, just as in 378 B.C. they had first expelled the Spartans from Thebes and then sued for peace,² so after the triumph of Leuctra they tamely agreed to an armistice.³ The Thebans evidently took Leuctra more soberly than Grote gives them credit for, and it is rash to assert that they were in no mood to negotiate.

4. After Leuctra the Spartans 'allowed their laws to sleep.' They enfranchised helots wholesale,⁴ and exempted the survivors of the battle from disfranchisement.⁵ Compared with this, recourse to arbitration was a minor indignity. It may even be suggested that a court of arbitration might have been the means of saving Sparta's face after her defeat. At Leuctra the point at issue between her and Thebes—the status of the lesser Boeotian towns—had been settled irrevocably. The Spartans therefore stood to gain in dignity by gracefully conceding in court what they already had lost in the field.

5. Grote's objection to the Achaeans has already been answered by Polybius, who points out that equity, not power, is the chief desideratum in an arbitrator. This rule, moreover, stands in accord with the general practice of the Greeks: 'high principle and friendly feeling were required in the arbitrating state, even more than power and wealth.'⁶

6. The alacrity with which the Achaeans supported Sparta after Leuctra was short-lived. During the critical campaign of 370-369 B.C. they gave Sparta no help, and in the early sixties they remained consistently neutral. Unlike other subjects of Sparta, the Achaeans had no imperial ambitions; therefore they were peculiarly well qualified to play the part of honest brokers.

On what precise occasion could Sparta and Thebes have invoked the Achaeans? The most suitable moment would seem to be soon after the conclusion of the alliance between Athens and the minor Peloponnesian states (autumn 371 B.C.).⁷ By this alliance the Peloponnesians were seduced from their traditional dependence upon Sparta,⁸ who thus received a smart back-hander from Athens. Conversely, the Thebans suffered an affront by the terms of the alliance, which imposed upon Greece the *status quo ante bellum* and thus were calculated to rob Thebes of the fruits of her victory. But the door remained open for negotiations between Thebes and Sparta until Thebes prepared for an invasion of Peloponnesus, and this did not happen until summer or autumn 370 B.C.⁹ The Achaean arbitration might therefore be dated at almost any point in the twelvemonth after Leuctra.

Why did the negotiations fail? Possibly because the Achaeans had joined the Athenian league and were no longer free to act as referees; or because Agesilaus subsequently rallied anti-Theban sentiment at Sparta; or because the Thebans eventually grew interested in Peloponnesian politics and changed their peace objects. But this is mere conjecture, and beside the point.

CONCLUSION.—There is no adequate reason for disbelieving Polybius and Strabo. Their story fits into its context, and may be accepted as true.

M. CARY.

¹ *Hellenica* VI. 4, 19-20.

² Isocrates, *Plataicus* § 29.

³ *Hellenica* VI. 4, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* VI. 5, 29.

⁵ Plutarch, *Agesilaus* ch. 30.

⁶ Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks*, p. 96-97.

⁷ *Hellenica* VI. 5, 1-3.

⁸ Unfortunately Xenophon does not enumerate the signatories. But from the context it is clear that Sparta was excluded (see Swoboda, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1894, pp. 321 sqq.).

⁹ *Hellenica* VI. 5, 19 sqq.

THE TEXT OF THE EPISTLES OF THEMISTOCLES.

THE succeeding pages were destined, had matters gone otherwise, to form one section of a chapter devoted to the text of those deservedly neglected authors whom, after a mortal illness released Anton Westermann from the task, Rudolf Hercher marshalled between the two covers of the Didot *Epistolographi*. That chapter, in its turn, was to have been the last in a volume of *Adversaria*, and, if the truth is to be told, perhaps not the least important function of some of my proposals was to supply a colourable pretext for dealing with passages of other writers (especially Clement of Alexandria and Libanius) whom I had not treated in the body of the book. So much in excuse of the content and form of this paper. That here and there I may have been anticipated is possible enough, for the delectable years are fled when the solitary student could say with Isocrates and be comforted: *Περὶ μὲν τῶν δόξαν ἔχόντων σπάνιον εὐρεῖν ὁ μηδεὶς πρότερον εἴρηκε, περὶ δὲ τῶν φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν ὅ τι ἂν τύχη τις φθεγξάμενος ἰδιὸν ἔστιν*. Still, though I have experimented freely on the vile material, I have done my best, with the resources and time¹ at my command, to avoid repetitions and inaccuracies; and I hope that, when the needful deductions have been made, there will remain enough to be of some service to the text of these inane and corrupt effusions.

The transmission through the ages of the twenty-one epistles of Themistocles is one of the ambiguous benefits conferred on Greek literature by the famous *Palatinus* 398,² round which Bast's *Lettre Critique* to Boissonade revolves. Whatever may have been the earlier vicissitudes of the tradition, its last state is pitiable; and although Hercher, who had the use of Westermann's unpublished notes, naturally did much to improve it,³ the text may still hold its own with the worst in existence. Whether it can ever be made entirely presentable seems dubious. The depravation is too multiform. At one end of the scale are transparent uncial corruptions, reproduced with slavish and exemplary fidelity; at the other is the patchwork of a corrector whose activities must often have quenched the last glimmer of truth. Between are all the vagaries of the incompetent or careless copyist, and, superadded, the lumbering, contorted diction of a writer who may have been what he will, but can no more than the Pseudo-Phalaris have been Greek. Finally, many passages must remain in doubt simply because the bulk of the Epistles is fortunately too small to admit of the author's usage in a given case being established with reasonable certainty. Of the following conjectures a large number, it is perhaps superfluous to say, are purely tentative: others I have omitted altogether.

¹ 'Quis enim est, qui, nisi ad hoc ipsum natus sit, Phalarideis, ut his utar, per omne anni tempus se adplicet uel Dionysii Antiocheni futilibus commenticiisque sententiis immoriatur?' So Hercher (*Praef.* IX.); and the apology, though called for, was adequate.

² Collated after Westermann (for the *Epistles*) by Hercher himself, whom I follow; Bast's collation seems not to have been published. Of the two editions previous to Hercher—the *princeps* (Rome, 1628, by Caryophilus, Archbishop of Iconium) and that of Habich—I have been able to consult neither. The first, it is more than

clear from Hercher's apparatus, has long been negligible, the latter always.

³ He credits himself in his preface with the salvation of Themistocles; but, in point of fact, the percentage of frivolous or hasty conjectures is heavier, and the certain or plausible emendations of a less arresting character, than is the case in most of his other work—e.g. on Aelian, the Novelists, and Plutarch. Indeed, his whole volume is in the main a poor monument to a scholar who, with all his failings, had in him the rudiments of greatness.

Ep. 1 (741, 16 sqq.¹). The ostracized Themistocles, about to leave for Delphi, meets three Argive admirers, who remind him of the family connexion with Argos:

τελευτώντες δὲ ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς κατακρίνεσθαι τῆς ἐντυχίας μόνον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀξίους γεγονέναι, μηδὲ ὑβρίσαι αὐτῶν τὸ εὐτύχημα τῆς ἀπαντήσεως, Νεοκλέα τε πάλιν προφέροντες καὶ ὡς ἄξιον εἶη πόλει τε τῇ αὐτῇ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ οἴκῳ ἐνὶ <ἐμ>βιῶναι.

ἀξίους*:¹ αἰτίους P<alatinus> || ἐνὶ <ἐμ>βιῶναι* : ἐνὶ βιῶναι P, ἐμβιῶναι Car<yophilus>, H<erche>r.

‘They hoped his verdict would be that they had a title to be honoured by more than a casual meeting.’ The tradition is meaningless, though Bentley, when discussing the letter,² is silent, and Hercher is content to reprint the old Latin version: ‘Postremo precabantur, ne se tanquam accusationis meae auctores solum criminarer . . .’ The proximity, however, of ἐντυχίας to ἀπαντήσεως (Polyb. *ap.* Ath. 440F ἀδῆλον τῆς ἐντυχίας οὐσης τίσιν ἀπαντήσῃ), the patent allusion to the opening of the epistle (καθ’ ὁδὸν δὲ . . . ἐντυγχάνουσι N. καὶ M.), and indeed the whole context, show, if it were needful to be shown, that τῆς ἐντυχίας τῆς ἡμετέρας bears its natural sense (Jul. *ep.* 69=29 Bidez-Cumont εἰ δέ σοι σχολή . . . διαβῆναι, τιμησαίμην ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγου τὴν σὴν ἐντυχίαν).

The interchange of ἀξίος and αἷτιος is in the common course of nature (see, for instance, Cobet, *N.L.* 80), and may have played a secondary part in a passage of more interest:

Eur. *Hel.* 1593 sqq. καί τις τόδ’ εἶπε· δόλιος ἢ ναυκληρία·
πάλιν πλέωμεν ἀξίαν κέλευε σύ,
σὺ δὲ στρέφ’ οἶακα.

‘Crux criticorum,’ says Herwerden. ‘Coniecta sunt ἀξίον, ἀξιῶ, ἀκτίαν (Dindorf=ἀκτὴν scil.), δεξιάν, paullo saltem melius ἀντίαν (Badham)³ . . . Ipse olim cogitavi de corrigendo ναυβάται, apte sed uolentius, quod idem ualet de Paleyi coniectura τί νῦν πλέωμεν Ναυπλίαν; cui praeterea obstat quod πάλιν πλέωμεν uerum esse clamat fere contextus.’ The trouble, however, is that the context cries equally that whatever word lurks in ἀξίαν must go with the first part of the verse: for κέλευε σύ, σὺ δὲ στρέφ’ οἶακα is plainly meant to be no more than the resolution into its component parts of σὺ μὲν κελευστής γενοῦ, σὺ δὲ οἰακοστρόφος. But suppose the line to have passed through the mediate form:

πάλιν πλέομεν αἷτίαν κέλευε σύ κτέ.

More than probably the next copyist would have written πάλιν πλέωμεν: less than impossibly he might have taken αἷτίαν for ἀξίαν. Yet from those materials the most inglorious Porson may restore:

πάλιν· <τί> πλέομεν Ἀπίαν; κέλευε σύ κτέ.

Ep. 2 (741, 38 sqq.). The Argives press Themistocles to accept a dictatorship . . . Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀτιμάζω αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν αἰδοῦμαι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον λαβεῖν ἃ διδῶσιν οὐχ ὑπομένω (ἢ γὰρ ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγὼ διώκων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ ἐξωστρακίσθαι δοκοῖν), καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς, οἶμαι, μετασταθέντα με ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἄρχειν ὀρεγόμενον ἐξ Ἀργεῶν φεύγειν ὅτι ἄρχειν ἀναγκάζομαι.

ὑπομένω (ἢ γὰρ . . . δοκοῖν), καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς, οἶμαι, μετασταθέντα*: ὑπομένω·
ἢ γὰρ . . . δοκοῖν. καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς εἶναι μετασταθέντα PHr.

¹ The references are to the page and line of Hercher: the asterisks indicate my own proposals.

² *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles*, III.

³ Wecklein extends the melancholy list with ἐστίαν, νεανία, νόστιμον, θάσσον οὖν, and worse. Murray adopts δεξιάν, which might have been considered if the word had been Greek for ‘to the right.’

In the above καταγνώσεως ἐγγύς (ἔστι) becomes the equivalent of an impersonal σχεδόν τι κατέγνωσται. But though the change is light and the phrasing in the author's manner, the suggestion is naturally a makeshift and no more.

Ep. 3 (742, 30 sqq.). Φεύγομεν, ὥσπερ ἐγκελεύη, κατὰ τάχος, ὦ Πολύγνωτε, καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐξ Ἀργεῖος ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔσμεν, ὃ τε πλοῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἡμῖν τέταται, καὶ νεαλή ἔχοντες τὰ ΠΛΟΙΑ <ἐπὶ μὲν Κυλλήνην ἐὺτυχῶς κατεληλύθαμεν, νῦν δὲ ΑΠΛΟΙΑ> κατεχόμεθα.

<>*: τὰ πλοῖα κατεχόμεθα P, τὰ πλοῖα ἀπερχόμεθα Hr.

See 757, 3 sqq. ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν . . ., ὃ τε πλοῦς εἰπετής ἡμῖν ἐγένετο καὶ πολὺν ἀφείλεν οὐδ' ἐπὶ Κυλλήνῃ κατεσχέθημεν χρόνον; 758, 18 sqq. κατῆλθον ἐπὶ Κυλλήνην . . . ἐκείθι δὲ ἐκινδυνέυσσαμεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀναμεῖναι τοὺς διώκοντας ἡμῶς· πλεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ὠρμημένοι . . . τρεῖς ὅλας κατειχόμεθ' ἡμέρας; 759, 42, πλέοντας δ' οὐκέθ' ἡμῶς εὐπλοῖα ἦγεν.—The passage, in fact, falls into the class (which I hope to discuss elsewhere) where the folly of arranging homoeoteleuta tends almost to be venial. Here I append only a few nondescript examples. Unless it is otherwise stated, the tradition is unchanged but for my bracketed supplements.

Clem. Alex. *Prot.*, § 33 fin. Φάωνα ἐλόχα καὶ ἦρα Ἀδώνιδος, ἐφιλονεῖκει δὲ τῇ βοοπιπιδί <καὶ τῇ γλαυκοπιπιδί>, καὶ ἀποδυσάμεναι διὰ μῆλον αἱ θαὶ γυναι προσείχον τῷ ποιμένι, ἥτις (P³, with his usual good sense: εἴ τις P, edd.) δόξει καλῇ.

Ib. § 95. ἐχρῆν μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐννοουμένων τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔμφυτον ἐπάγεσθαι μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων, πίστιν . . . περιφανῶς αἰρουμένην τὸ βέλτιστον, μηδὲ ζητεῖν εἰ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΩΚΤΕΟΝ <ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἐγνωκότας ὅτι ΜΕΤΑΔΙΩΚΤΕΟΝ> ἐκπονεῖν.—μεταδιωκτέον, <τὸ δ' ἀγαθόν> ἐκπονεῖν Ed. Schwartz, Stählin; <ἀλλ'> ἐκπονεῖν Heyse; [ζητεῖν] Mayor, Butterworth.

Paed. III., § 34. μακάριος οὗτος ὄντως, ΕΑΝ ΤΕ <μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος, ΕΑΝ ΤΕ> σμικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄδοξος ᾗ. See Plat. *Legg.* 660B, εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, εἴαν τε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς εἴαν τε μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ᾗ.

Quis dñes, § 24 fin. ἂν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀπόλληται ὑπὲρ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, <ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται ὑπὸ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ>.—<ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται> alone Segaar, Stählin, Butterworth. For the antithesis of the prepositions, cf. *v.c.*, § 41, μηδὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ λυπούμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ.

Strom. VII., § 31. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν καὶ τοὺς μαγείρους θεοποιούντες . . . καὶ τὸν ἰπνὸν αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦντες <καὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν στεφανοῦντες>, προσεχέστεραν γινόμενῃ τῇ κνίσῃ τῇ πολυτιμῇ.—Stählin adopts Wilamowitz's incredible προσεχέστερον γινόμενον: Mayor wrote inadequately προσεχέστεραν <ἐσχάραν>.

Ib., § 72 ca. fin. εὐχόμεθα δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα, οὐχ ὥς ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΩΣ <ληψόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥς ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΟΣ> τοῦ αἰτεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα παρὰ σοῦ.—οὐχ ὥς καθήκοντος τοῦ αἰτεῖν κτέ. Sylburg, vulg., evidently against the sense; τὰ συμφέροντα, οὐ <τὰ ἡδέα>, ὥς καθήκοντος τοῦ αἰτεῖν κτέ Stählin. Indeed, fifty examples of much the same degree of probability might be collected from Clement.

Liban. *Inu. in Aesch.*, § 60. ὃ γὰρ ἐπισχεῖν μὴ κωλύσας ΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕΝ <ὃς δ' ΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕΝ> δέδρακεν.—<ἐν οἷς>¹ ἐπέτρεψε δέδρακεν Reiske, Foerster.

¹ This insertion might be made with some speciousness in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I., § 19 fin.: ἡ πολυμαθία διασυστατικὴ τυγχάνει τοῦ παρατιθεμένου τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων πρὸς πειθῶ τῶν ἀκρωμένων, θαυμασμὸν ἐγγενῶσα τοῖς κατηχο-

μΕΝΟΙΣ <ΕΝ ΟΙΣ> καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνίστησιν (= ἐν τῷ . . . συνίσταται. For the idiom in Clement see Mayor, *Strom.* VII., pp. 263, 289-90). Stählin prints, after Wilamowitz, <καὶ> θαυμασμὸν . . . [καὶ] πρὸς κτέ.

Demosth. apol., § 18 init. καίτοι Σόλων . . . οὐκ ἐπάναγκες τοῦτό γε ὥσπερ τὰ ΑΛΛΑ <ἐποίησεν, Α Λ Λ Α> λειτουργεῖν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένους ὀφείλιν ὑπελάμβανεν—ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐκάστῳ προεῖρηκε ποιεῖν, τὸ λέγειν δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κατέλιπεν.—λειτουργεῖν [μὲν] Foerster; then ὀφείλιν, ὑπελάμβανεν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ κτέ. (an interpolation drawn from HV). Reiske, too great a man to be a tidy one, inserted ἐποίησεν after τοῦτο γε, and οἷον before λειτουργεῖν.

Ps.-Lysias VIII. fin. κερδανῶ δὲ τοσούτον ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ΥΜΩΝ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓ- <ήσομαι, ἔπειτα δ' ΥΜΩΝ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓ> εἰς ἐλάχιστα κακῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πέ- σομαι.—πρῶτον μὲν] πρῶτιστος Reiske, πρῶτος Kirchner, πρῶτος νῦν Thalheim.

Σ Aesch. *Eum.* 94. ὁ μὲν Ὀρέστης φυγῇ οἴχεται Ἀθήναζε πυθόμενος [κριθσόμενος Weil: leg. πεῖθόμενος], αἱ δὲ Ἐρινύες μόναι καθεύδουσιν ΥΠΟ ΠΟΝΟΥ [ἴσως καὶ]. <διεγειρόμεναι δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπάτην τινὰ ΥΠΟΝΟΟΥσιν> Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ τραγωδοποιῦ <ἴσως καὶ> τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος, ἵνα διὰ τούτου ἐμφαίνῃ [Vict. for ἐμφανῇ] τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπόν. πῶς δὲ διεγείρονται; οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κτέ.

Plut. *Bruta ratione uti* 987E init. τὴν τῆς δειλίας ἐπώνυμον εὐκόλῳ <κατα- δούλῳ> ἵνα ἀσπασζόμενος [ἐνασπασζόμενος libri].—ἐπώνυμον <δουλείαν> Xyl.

Julian 27C,D. ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεῖς καὶ νεῶν ἄρμενα [* : ἔρματα libri, σέλματα Reiske], συντριβομένων ἐπ' αὐταῖς ΤΩΝ <ΙΣΤΩΝ> μηχανημάτων <δὲ καὶ> βελῶν πλήθος ἐπινηχόμενον μικροῦ δέιν ἐπέειχεν ἅπαν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῶν χωμάτων.¹—The weak spot is the need of interpolating δὲ καί: yet there is the solitary μὲν to testify that somewhere or other a δέ has perished.

Appian, *Hann.*, § 44 init. ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰς τῆς ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ <ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ>.—πέρας Mendelssohn, τέλος Nipperdey, μέρος <ἔσχατον> or τῆς <παλαιότητος> Ἰταλίας or τῆς <πάλαι μόνης καλουμένης> Ἰταλίας Schweigh.

Longus, *Past.* IV. 18. Οἰχόμεθα, εἶπεν, ὦ γύναι. ἤκει καιρὸς ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ κρυπτά. <ΕΡΗΜΟΙ μὲν διὰξομεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ>, ΕΡΗΜΟΙ δὲ αἱ αἶγες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Πάνα . . . τὴν Δάφνιδος τύχην . . . οὐ σιωπήσομαι.—ἔρρει μοι Δάφνις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα Cobet, Hirschig; ἔρρει μοι καὶ τὸ αἰπόλιον καὶ τὰ λ. π. Edmonds—who describes δὲ αἱ αἶγες as 'a correction following the corruption.' A prosaic nature, however, would have saved much ink by converting the ι of ἔρρημι into a ν.

Ach. Tat. IV. 18. Clitopho gives his verdict on the water of Nile: γλυκὺ δὲ πινόμενον ἦν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἐν μέτρῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς· οἶδα γὰρ ἐνίοις τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνιστῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τιτρώσκοντας. τοῦτ' ἐπὶ συνέκρινον αὐτοὺς Τῷ ΠΟΤΑΜῳ <καὶ πάντας ὑπερ- βάλλετο Τῷ ΠΟΤΙΜῳ>. διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἄκρατον ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πίνων οὐ φοβεῖται, Διονύσου μὴ δεόμενος.—I return, however, to Themistocles.

Ep. 3, contd. (742, 33 sqq.). τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄγγελον τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ σὺν ἐπαινέσεις . . . δέος δὲ ἐστὶ μὴ ἀνωφελῇ ὑμῶν τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιμένον ὁ χειμὼν ποιήσῃ [ἤ] καὶ βραδύτεροι τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ φεύγοντες γενώμεθα.

ὑμῶν* : ἡμῶν P || [*].

So, in reality, the sense demands, and the changes are nothing: for when the scribe of the Palatinus was confronted by *i*-sounds, then, as at Themistocles' destination, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. The omitted portion of the sentence is hardly corrigible.

¹ He goes on a little later: πῦρ μὲν ἐνέλετο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἐξέπιπτον δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἡμίκαντοι πολλοί. For ΑΧΙΠισιν, which has always seemed to me remarkably foolish in the context, I propose

ΔΕΡΡΙσιον (or δέρρεσιον: but the compound δερριδ- γομφος appears to guarantee the other form.) See Wesseling on D. Sic., t. II., p. 412.

45 sqq. ἀλλά σε ἀγάμεθα . . . τοῦ διαγορεύσαι μὴ φεύγοντας ἡμᾶς ὑπ' αἰσχροῦ καταληφθῆσθαι καὶ διεγνωσμένου ἤδη θανάτου.

αἰσχροῦ*: ἐχθροῦ P.

Westermann tried ὡς διεγνωσμένου: but neither is the particle wanted nor is ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ identical with *ab hoste*; while, in such a tradition as this, chance alone determines whether αἰσχρός or ἐχθρός is passed on to the after-world.

Ep. 4 (743). Since the many uncertainties on this page are as trivial as my own remedies, I merely record: 2 sq. τούτου μὲν αὐτὸ*: τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτ' P, αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ' Hr, 7 ὁρᾷς γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὅσον*: ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῶν P, 8 ὅστρακισμοὺς <ἐξ ὅστρακισμῶν> ἡμῶν (*verbi causa*)*: ὅστρακισμένους ἡμᾶς P, 9 [τὸ] καὶ νῦν δὲ τοῦτό γε*: τὸ καινόν γε τοῦτο P, 26 <οἱ> ἄλλοι*, 33 εὐλαβεῖσθαι σε <καλόν> or <κάλλιον>*, 34 ὅτε*: ὅτι P, 48 δεδιέναι <μέμνησο uel sim.>*: δεδιέναι P, δέδιθι Hr.

744, 5 sqq. παλαμαῖον ἢ ἀλιτήριον [τι] προστῚψαι τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἀκεστὸν οὐδὲ χαλκοῖς ἀνδριάσιν ἀποδιοπομπήσιμον τῇ πόλει.

[] Maurice Haupt || ἀκεστὸν West<ermann>: ἀρεστὸν P || ἀποδιοπομπήσιμον*: ἀποδιοπομπήσει μὲν P, ἀποδιοπομπησόμενον Hr.

The adjective appears to have a reasonable claim upon the new Liddell and Scott.

Ib. 17 sqq. εἰ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων . . . ἀναφαινομένην κεκολασμένος.

ἀναφ.*: ἀν φ. P, [ἀν] φ. Hr.

Ib. 19 sqq. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἵνα μηδὲν γένηται ἐγὼ προμηθήσομαι, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ τὰ τε νῦν ὥς ἔνι ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ ἐξευλαβήμεθα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴν τελείως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται πύσιον περὶ πάντων.

τὰ τε νῦν*: τάδε νῦν P, τὰ δεινὰ Hr || ἐνι?*: ἐν || ἐξευλαβήμεθα] ἐξευλαβησόμεθα Hr || ἐπειδὴν Hr: ἔπειτ' ἀν P.

Ib. 24 sqq. τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι ἀντιβολοῦμέν σε καὶ ἱκετεύομεν . . . καὶ συλλαμβάνειν . . . καὶ βοηθεῖν ἡμῖν ἀντικρυς, τὰ μὲν χρήματα μὴ φυλάττοντα ἐμοὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ καιρίως ταῦτα καὶ δεξιῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπολλύοντα, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο σκοποῦμενον ὅσημέραι ὅπως τὸν Κλεόφαντον ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περισώσεις· ὑπείσι δέ σοι¹ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους εὐνοια δι' ἡμᾶς, [ἴσως] ἢ Σύβρις <δὲ> καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα [δὲ] τὸν νῦν σου σοί τε αὐτῷ στερκτέα καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀμελητέα, εἰ μὲν ἀξιοθυσόμεθα κηδεσθαι ὑμῶν γενέσθαι, ὅτι σοὶ μὲν <ν> ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνῳ δὲ γυνή, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐμέλλησέ τε καὶ ἡλπίσθη ποτέ.

ἀπολλύοντα] ἀναλοῦντα Hr || τοὺς ἄλλους] αὐτοὺς Hr || δι' ἡμᾶς, ἢ Σύβρις δὲ καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα*: δι' ἡμᾶς ἴσως ἢ σὺ θαρρεῖς καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα δὲ P || νύς*: νίος P.

For ἀπολλύοντα I have no better advocate to call than the translator of Ben-Sira (XXIX. 13 ἀπόλεσον ἀργύριον διὰ φίλον), and Hercher's straightforward ἀναλοῦντα may well be true, though an artificial alternative is τούτων . . . ἀπολαύοντα ('making free with').—In what follows, my corrections appear to meet the case. Since νύς is certain, it follows that a daughter of Themistocles has been named, and ἢ σὺ θαρρεῖς emends itself from Plut. *Them.* XXII. (not the author's source): θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους εἶχεν, ὦν Μνησιπολέμαν μὲν . . . Ἀρχέπολις . . . ἔγχευεν, . . . Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. With some excess of caution I have cancelled ἴσως as a fellow-worker's *fortasse*, and the insertion, excision, or trajection of δέ is one of the most favoured edged tools of the critically disposed copyist.

¹ He has the accusative at 748, 49, ὅπρῃσιν ὑμᾶς θάμβος, but the dative is legitimate enough.

Another passage in which a proper name has undeniably come to shipwreck may as well be emended here as elsewhere :

Liban. *Demosthenis deditiois petitio* § 30. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ἀξιώσει με περιελθόντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα παλινφθίαν ἄσαι ὅτι Φίλιππος εὐσεβής, πιστός, δίκαιος, Ἑλληνικώτατος καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ πολλὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλάττων.

Foerster prints οὐδὲν ἢ <οὐ> πολλά, as conjectured worthily by P² and Morel, and most unworthily by Jacobs, who might have been expected to write *currente calamo* : καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ Πέλλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλάττων.

To redress the balance, I transcribe from Longus *Past.* III. 12 :

They gathered flowers as garlands for the gods. ἡ μὲν Χλόη καὶ ἀπὸ αἰγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ οἰῶν τινῶν γάλα νέον καὶ τοῦτο στεφανοῦντες τὰ ἀγάλματα κατέσπεισαν.

The romantic supplements and transpositions of the editors may be contemplated in the editions. The drab truth is that a weary eye misread ΗΜΕΧΑΘΗ for ΗΜΕΛΧΘΗ and that Longus wrote, ἡ μέλχθη καὶ ἀπὸ αἰγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ οἰῶν τινῶν γάλα νέον, καὶ τοῦτο (Courier's τούτου is idle), στεφανοῦντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, κατέσπεισαν : a rather curious instance of the confusion of X, Λ (Δ, Α), which is common with or without further complication (e.g., Plut. *Otho* XIII. ἀγχωμάχου = ἀγχωμάδου; Polyaen. V. 2, 7 ἐξέχυσαν = ἐξεδυσαν; Mosch. II. 51 εἰναλῆς = Ἴναλῆς; Aristaeon. I. 28 fin. ΚολΧίδος = ΚολΑλίδος; D. Chrys. 126 D Δήτι = Χήτει; Σ Eur. *Hipp.* 58 ἐΧίνφ = <σ>εΔίνφ; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. § 114 ΛΑιτος L, ΧΑιτος Tatian's MSS., ΑΔιτος Tatian *sec.* Euseb.; Ἀλόη = Χλόη Villos. Long. t. II. p. 214. Add, perhaps, Long. III. 6, where the dubious Δρόμφ might be better altered not to πόνφ—Edmonds—but to Χρόνφ).

Ep. 4, contd. (744, 37 sqq.). καὶ οἶμαι μὲν οὔτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὺς, εἰ καὶ πάννυ πνοίην καὶ μέγας γένοιτο ὁ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς φθόνος, εἰς γυναῖον ἢ εἰς παιδάρια παροινεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειν· εἰ δ' αὖ λεπτή τις ἐλπίς μέν, μάλλον δ' ἀμυνδρὰ ἢ ἡ ὑποψία, ὁμηροῖ μὴ μᾶσσον μενέτω <σαν>.

λυποῖν* : λυποῖ P, ἐπιιδιοῖ Hr || μέν* : μόνον P || ἡ ἢ* : ἡ P || ὁμηροῖ μὴ μᾶσσον μενέτωσαν* : ὀνείρφ ὑμᾶς ἵσον μενέτω P.

All that can be alleged in favour of these divinations may be alleged briefly. *Λυποῖν*, then, is appropriate, for the verb is technical in its application to political unpopularity (Plut. *C. Gracch.* IX. 3 τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσοψηφίαν διδοὺς ἐλύπει, *et sexcentiens*). The confusion of μέν and μόν is endless;¹ it is conceivable that Themistocles should have realized before Lord Verulam that he that hath wife and children hath given hostages to Fortune; it was not beyond his copyists to extract ὑμᾶς ἵσον from *μημασσον*; and though the comparative, always a stone of offence, does not recur in the *Epistles*, μήκιστος appears at 743, 48 and 752, 25—in the latter case, I think, wrongly. I see nothing, however, that deserves serious consideration.

Ib. 48 sqq. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἤδη μισητέον Ἀθηναίους ἡμῖν ὥστε τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷα οὔτε ἐγένετο πώποθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἶμαί τε ὅτι οὐδ' ἔσται· εἰ δ' ἄρα γένοιτο (οὐδὲν γὰρ περιττὸν πάλιν ἐν τοῖς οὕτως ἀναγκαίοις <ὑπομνήσαι σε>), δεδήλωκά σοι τὸ χρεὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ πραχθῆναι.

οἶμαί τε* : οἶμαι δὲ P || ἔσται· εἰ δ'* : ἔστιν οὐδ' P || γένοιτο (οὐδὲν . . . ἀναγκαίοις <ὑπομνήσαι σε>), δεδήλωκα* ; γένοιτο οὐδὲν . . . ἀναγκαίοις. δεδήλωκα P.

So, in essentials, the passage must have run : the lapses of Hercher and Westermann are best forgiven and forgotten.

¹ Add, again from the dregs of Greek, Pseudo-Libanius *de Socratis silentio*, § 22 init. : οὐ Σωκρατικά μὲν ἐσσι ταῦτα, where the context clamours for μόνον. At § 25 med. read οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἰλισσόν

ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ τῇ καλῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μόνοι (μὲν οἱ codd.) τέττιγες ἔσσονται. Even to-day this production is all the worse for not having passed through Reiske's hands.

Ib. 54-745, 2. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείγειν ἡμᾶς ἐδόκει γράφειν παρὰ σέ, κατὰ ταῦτα δέ, ὅταν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γένηται, γράψομεν.

κατὰ ταῦτα* : μετὰ ταῦτα P.

Ep. 5 (745, 4 sqq.). ἐπιτυχόντες δὲ Κρατησιπόλιδι καὶ Στρατολάφ τὰ σὰ ἀπεδίδομεν ἐκείνῃ γράμματα.

τ ς* : τοιοιοις P, † δ the same hand in the margin.

Ib. 16. ὁλκάδι. <καὶ δὴ> εἰς Πύδναν κτέ.?

Ib. 18, sqq. ταῦτά σοι τὰ περὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀδμητον ἦν ἀφίξεως. <τὰ> καὶ νὰ γράψεις Ἀργοθεν, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀδμήτῳ . . . ἀλλὰ τῇ Κρατησιπόλιδι <πρόσειπ δὲ> παρὰ τε τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μέντοι· κτέ.

<τὰ>καὶ νὰ γράψεις* : καὶ ἵνα γράφῃς P || <>*.

*Ἰνα γράφῃς for γράφε (Blass *N.T.G.* § 64, 4; Jannaris, § 1914b) is virtually impossible in this type of Greek, nor can a man be reasonably asked γράφειν τῷ δέινι παρὰ τοῦ δείνος καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μέντοι. For my insertion cf. Heliod. V. 22 τὴν κόρην . . . παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς πρόσειπε, and the like everywhere.

Ep. 6 (*ib.* 29). πάντα [τοῦτον] τὸν βίον? Cf. 751, 14. *Ib.* 31. <δυννηθεῖς> ἀλθές τι?

ib. 39 sqq. The integrity of Themistocles' banker has hitherto been above suspicion: ὥστε (οὐδ' ἐμὴ γὰρ ἀμαρτία εὐξετάστῳ καὶ εὐθεωρήτῳ τὸν τρόπον ἀνδρὶ πιστεῦσαι) ἐμὴ [δὲ] ἴσως [τὸν] δυστυχία τὸν μηδενί πω ὑφ' ὧν οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν πέπονθεν <ᾧ>πιστον εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ μόνον ὑφ' οὗ τὰ τηλικαῦτα ὄνῃται ἀδικον γεγόνειναι.

() * || ἐμὴ γὰρ μεγάλη Hr || εὐθεωρήτῳ Hr: ἀθ. P || ἐμὴ ἴσως δυστυχία τὸν μηδενί πω? * (cf. 747, 43 ἐμῇ δυστυχίᾳ χάριν ἐπιστάμενοι οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεσθε): ἐμὴ δὲ ἴσως τὸν δυστυχῇ αὐτὸν μηδὲ ἀπὸ P. Hr cites ἐμὸν δὲ ἴσως τὸ δυστύχημα τὸν (Car) μηδὲ ἄλλοις (West) || ἀπιστον Car?: πιστὸν P.

The passage might no doubt have been left in peace. In my speculative version the cancelled δέ and τόν would have to be taken as inserted, one after the obliteration of the parenthesis (compare the notes on 747, 16; *ib.* 42; 748, 1; 744, 24), one after the transition of δυστυχία τόν into δυστυχῇ αὐτόν (Bast *C.P.* 705 sq., with Schaefer's note on 914 sq.). For μηδενί πω I can merely apologize.

746, 11 sq. διέκεισο πικρῶς καὶ ἔξαρνος ἦσθα μὴδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ὀφείλειν ἐμοί.

διέκεισο . . . ἦσθα* : ἔξαρνος ἦσθα καὶ διέκεισο (διετείνοῦ Hr) πικρῶς P.

The tradition is not certainly at fault, but these slight dislocations are exceedingly common. For variety I cite Livy XXI. 8, 4: *Oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda <non sufficiebant; itaque> multifariam distineri coepti sunt.* [non sufficiebant; itaque] iam feriebantur arietibus muri . . . — <> ... [] * : coepti [sunt], non sufficiebant Weissenborn, vulg.; alii alia.—At Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II. § 74 read:

διὰ τοῦτό τοι εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεὸν ἐπιγνώσονται δίκαιον, καὶ κύριον ὃν αὐτοὶ παρεπύκρναν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸν κύριον.

ἄνθρωπον τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Schwartz¹: ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φιλόανθρωπον || δίκαιον, καὶ κύριον ὃν* : κύριον καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν.

¹ Who closed the sentence at δίκαιον, and by changing ὃν to ὅτι attempted vainly to connect the remaining words with the next sentence. In *Paed.* I., § 85, read: καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος, —δς— ἐξὸν εἶναι κύριον ἀδελφὸς εἶναι βεβούληται. Stählin prints ἀνθρώπων (a modifica-

tion of Mayor's ἀνθρώποις) and, in addition, Wilamowitz's ungrammatical κύριος, though a little later (§ 88 *med.*) both he and Wilamowitz leave πρὶν γὰρ κτίσθην (ieg. κτίστης) γενέσθαι θεὸς ἦν untouched.

746, 23 sqq. εἰ δ' ἀληθῶς οἴομεθα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν σοὶ εἶναι [καὶ] πανταχῇ πάντα Ἀθηναίων γέμει, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβῶν λήσεις, ὦ Φιλοστράφανε, οὔτε ἐμὲ ἀδικῶν καταπροιῆξ· εἰ δὲ κάμῳ καταφρονεῖς¹ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν Ἀθηναίους γε οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ.

[]* || Ἀθηναίων edd.²: ἀθηνίων P || καταπροιῆξ· εἰ δὲ . . . καταφρονεῖς . . . ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ*: καταπροιῆξ (οὐδ' εἰ . . . καταφρονήσεις . . . ἀμελήῃς), ἀλλὰ P.

The double negative might stand at a pinch, but the absurd punctuation of the vulgate ought unquestionably to be removed.

Ib. 32 sqq. ἀντεπιστελλε ὅστις εἰ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ὅπῃ σοι διέγνωσται τὰ ἄλλα πρᾶσ-
σ ε < IN >, IN α εἰ μὲν εἰ ἐκείνος ὁ ἔτυμος φίλος κτέ.

πράσσειν*: πρὸς σε P || ἔτυμος M. Haupt: εὐθυμος P, εὐσημος Hr.

Westermann's τὰμὰ for τὰ ἄλλα is as perverse as the vulgate. The scribe of the Palatinus writes very sensibly either σσ or ττ as the spirit moves him—e.g. πρᾶσσομένων 756, 6> <πράττειν 749, 54; ἔλασσον 757, 46> <ἐλαττόνων 747, 15; τεσσαράκοντα 746, 15> <τετταράκοντα 745, 48. The author, I fancy, preferred the Wardour Street spelling.

Ep. 7 (ib. 48). ὑποτοπηθῆναι?*: ὑποτιμηθῆναι P.

747, 8 sqq. εὖ μέντοι ἴσθι, οὐπω τὰ τετταράκοντα ταῦτα ΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ <ἀποδιδούς ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ > ἀποδώσειν ἡμῖν ἔμελλες. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰλήφεις πω αὐτὰ, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν οὐ ταῦτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα τριάκοντα ἄξιός ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι.

ἴσθι, οὐπω*: οὐπω ἴσθι || < > *.

There seems no other way of making the passage rational; and, if the copyist followed an exemplar the hand of which resembled his own, the difference between τάλαντα and τὰ πάντα was infinitesimal: See his Ἀπόλλωνος, λίθον, λαγῶς in Bast C.P., plate ii. 6. The transposition of οὐπω and ἴσθι need not lie heavy on a normal conscience. Correct an equally trivial case, which has the merit of being certain, at Liban. *Dem. se ipius. or.* § 6 κατασπείσας τὸ πρᾶγμα, δέον* σχολῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρασχέιν. (κατασπείσας, δέον τὸ πρᾶγμα κτέ. vulg.). The source, overlooked by Foerster, is Aesch. *Ctes.* 67 τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπείδων.

ib. 16 sqq. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ [μὲν] τοῦ διαγανακτεῖν ἑμαυτὸν ἐτοιμότερον καὶ προχειρότερον, ἀπιστήσαι δέον ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς φίλου . . . ἐκεῖνο λέξας τάληθέστατον ἂν εἴποιμι κτέ.

[]* || δέον*: δὲ P.

Here, too, the chaotic vulgate is readily cured, for the genesis of μέν is clear, and the interchange of δέ and δέον, of course, regular (see, for instance, Bast *Epist. Crit.* 262¹⁰⁵ and Valckenaer on *Phoen.* 1628). At Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. § 23 *init.* write:

οὐκουν χρὴ αὐθις τὰ ἀριδῆλως εἰρημένα μυθολογεῖν· ὁθεν δέον ἐπισημῆνασθαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενομένουσ' ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν, ἀπόχρη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἔνδειξιν κτέ.—ὅσον δὲ cod., edd. with a comma after ἀπόχρη.

The same passion for the adversative particles is in evidence below:

Hercher decided for the futures.

² Intelligibly enough, as the idea would be virtually that of passages like Xen. *Hier.* II. 8, οἱ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ διὰ πολέμιας πορεύονται.

If the word is seriously corrupt, it is not easy to emend, for Haupt's ἀθεσιῶν γέμεις (with [καὶ] τοῦτ') is one of his failures.

Ep. 8 (*ib.* 42 sqq.). ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὦ Λέαγρε, τῆς [μὲν] ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας μόνῃ ἐμῇ [δὲ] δυστυχίᾳ χάριν ἐπιστάμενοι οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθε, ὅτι ὥσπερ μεγάλου καὶ πίοιτος θρέμματος πεσόντος ἄδην ἔσχε[τε] τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῆς ἐμῆς θοίνης.

τῆς [μὲν] . . . [δὲ] δυστυχίᾳ Hr West (practically) : τῇ μὲν ὑμετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ μόνῃ, ἐμῇ δὲ δυστυχίᾳ P || ἔσχε * : ἔσχετε P, παρέσχετε West.

Westermann's παρέσχετε is damned by the sense, which I have attempted to restore by an impersonal ἄδην ἔσχε. The weary missive now becomes rotten to the core.

Ib. 46 sqq. καὶ μοι τοῦτο γοῦν μόνον . . . εὐτύχεται, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὕτως ἄρρητως κακῶς πεπραγότει, <ΟΤΙ> ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς γε τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους οὐ μέτρ' ὤνῃσα ταῦτα παθὼν ἂ πέπονθα.

πεπραγότει, <ὅτι> ἀλλ' * : πεπραγότει . ἀλλ' P || μέτρ' * : μέτριον P, μετρίως Hr.

747, 50-748, 5. ἐπιθαρρεῖν δὲ καὶ . . . ἀγάλλεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ σωτηρίᾳ τίς ἂν . . . ὑπομείνει; πότερον [οὐχ] ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταβεβόθητε καταβόθῃν . . . οὕτω . . . ψευδῇ; ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐξορκοῦντες Ἀριστείδης ἦν . . . καὶ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, οἱ δὲ ὁμνύντες ὑμεῖς;

πότερον Car? : πρότερον P || [] * || αὐτοὶ * : οἱτοὶ || καταβεβόθητε] καταβεβόθησθαι P || ψευδῇ; ἀλλ' * : ψευδῇ, ἀλλ' P || ἐξορκοῦντες (or ὀρκοῦντες as at 748, 9) * : ἐπιορκοῦντες P || Ἀλκμε. Hr : Ἀλκμαι. P.

The letter presupposes that on Themistocles' ostracism his partisans were forced by Aristides and his faction to renounce him upon oath. Hercher left ill alone, but the rhetorical questions are easily restored. When the first note of interrogation perished, οὐχ ὅτι was written to balance the ἀλλ' ὅτι following.

748, 9-14. ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν πιστεύουσιν ὅτι ὁμωμόκατε, πρὶν δ' ἄρα οὐκ ἐπίστευον; διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ κάμει ὥρκωσαν, ἵνα κάμοι πεισθῶσιν;—εἰ δ' ἐμὲ μὲν πονηρὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρηστούς; διὰ τί οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡτιῶντο τηνικαῦτα τοὺς χρηστούς, ὅτεπερ κάμει τὸν πονηρόν;

χρηστούς; διὰ * : χρηστούς, διὰ P (χρηστούς, διὰ τί οὐ Hr).

Hercher erred because he forgot, what he must have known, that εἰ δέ may do duty for ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία. As Synesius favours the idiom, I give a few examples from the *Encomium Calvitii* : 69c εἰ δὲ κομᾶ τις καὶ γέρον; καὶ γὰρ ἀφραίνει τις <καί?> γέρον; 72B εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερος Ζεὺς; οὐκ οἶδα μὲν εἴ τίς ἐστὶ κτέ. : 73C εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ κομήτης ἀστήρ; ἐστὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς κτέ. : 75C εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑγίεια καλόν; τὸ κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν τῶν καλῶν : 80D εἰ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκόμα; . . . νέος γὰρ ἦν κτέ.

Ib. 19-31. None of this is true, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν παρούσας ἀνοχάς (<καὶ>, καθάπερ ἔλεγον, οὐ φθόνος αὐτῶν) πεποίηνται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὕτω μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλον δέονται, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐμοῦ πλήρεις εἰσίν· εἰ δ', οἷον εἰ ΚΟΣ, <προσεστη ΚΟΣ> εἴη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ἥδη, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὀρρωδῶ . . . μὴ δεσμὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ὄρκος γένηται πεπιστεῖσθαι μὲν οἰομένοις πιστεῦσαι δὲ ἐξαπατωμένοις, καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ μὴ πεπιστευμένος ὁμνὺς ἔξω βεβηκὼς ἀρκύνων καὶ ἀρκυνῶν τύχῳ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ μαρτυροῦμενοι ὅτι εὐσεβεῖς ἐστέ καὶ εὐορκοὶ (<καὶ> ἐστὲ δέ) ἐνασεβηθῆτε καὶ ἐνεπιορκηθῆτε ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων.

ἀνοχάς (. . .) πεποίηνται* : παροχάς, καθάπερ ἔλεγον, ὁ φθόνος αὐτῶν πεποίηνται P || ἔτι* : ὅτι P || <προσεστηκός> εἴη τὸ * : ἐρητο P || δεσμὸς* : δ' ἐμὸς P, κενὸς West Hr || οἰομένοις . . . ἐξαπατωμένοις West : οἰόμενοι . . . ἐξαπατῶμενοι P || μαρτυροῦμενοι* : μαρτυρόμενοι || (<καὶ> ἐστὲ δέ)* : ἐς τάδε P || ὑπὸ West : ἀπὸ P.

I have done what I could above to make the miserable sentence comprehensible, and there it is tempting to let the matter rest; a few words, however, may be added.

In the first place, then, Westermann's *kóros* for *φθόνος* was rational, but effected nothing. The change itself is not probable; it requires, even in this author, not *πεποιήται*, but *πεποιήκεν*, and it leaves the senseless *παροχάς* untouched. My own alterations seem to me fairly plausible. The prefix in *παροχάς* is due to the contagion of *παρούσας*;¹ *καί* for the thousand and first time has been swallowed by *κα*; and there is nothing abnormal in the confusion of *ο* and *οὐ*—almost any apparatus criticus will furnish an instance or two. The meaning leaves nothing to be desired, and the parenthesis refers to 747, 46 sqq. quoted above.

Next, Caryophilus' naïve *ἔρρει τὰ κατ' ἐμέ* for *ἔρητο κατ' ἐμέ* is idle: the one sense possible is *εἰ δὲ πλήσιμιον τὸ κατ' ἐμέ ἦδη*, but I have failed to elicit it from the apices. *Δεσμὸς*, later, is a passing thought.

Finally, *ἐς τὰδε* is meaningless, and *μαρτυρόμενοι* much worse, for the participle is no antithesis to *μὴ πεπιστευμένος*; and it is reduced to absurdity by the fact that, if it is sound, then *ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων* assumes the sense of *ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. I take *μαρτυρόμενοι* to be necessary: of the other problem I offer a speculative solution.

Ib. 44-48. *καὶ φ' ὑπανεστήσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ὀλυμπίαζε παρελθόντι ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος, τούτῳ οὐχ οἶον ἐν πανηγύρει καὶ θεάτρῳ τιμὴ καὶ προεδρεία τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν βεβήλῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἰκησις.*

*οὐχ οἶον** : *οὐχ οἶονται* (i.e. *οἶόν τε*) P, *οὐχ ὅτι* Hr || *θεάτρῳ* Hr : *οσακρω* P || *τιμὴ . . . προεδρεία . . . οἰκησις* West : *τιμῇ . . . προεδρεῖαι . . . οἰκήσει* P.

Οὐχ οἶον is plainly the true correction. The idiom, of course, is found *passim* in Polybius and sporadically elsewhere—e.g. Phil. Jud. II., p. 218M, *οὐχ οἶον ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός*; Phal. *ep.* 38, *οὐχ οἶον ἀνθρώπῳ τινὶ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεῶν τῷ δυναστεύοντι*, where even Markland on Max. Tyr. IX. 7 (I., p. 161, Reiske) allowed himself to conjecture *οὐχ ὅτι*.

J. JACKSON.

CALDBECK, CUMBERLAND.

¹ This paper might be filled with parallels. A few, mostly concerned with prepositions or prefixes, may be appended: Porph. *antr. Nymph.* 5 (p. 59, 10, Nck.), *αὐτοφυῆς . . . καὶ [αὐτο] συμφυῆς*: Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II., § 28, *πολυκλύζεται* (*περικλ.* F², *ἐπικλ.* a Catena) . . . *πολυποσία*: Iambl. *V. Pyth.* XIX., *συνδιατρίψας . . . συνδιατρίψας* (*προσδ.* F): Strab. 235 Cas., *στρατῖονικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρ[ιων]*: Hyperid. *epit.* XVII., *τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θ. οἰκτρῶς ἠφανισμένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν [ἐξ] αὐτῆς φρουρουμένην*: id. *Eux.* VI., *γραφὰ βασιλείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*: Jul. 75A, *τὰ [ὑπὲρ] τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη . . . τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων*: 55C, *ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος καὶ ὑπερβεβηκώς* (= *ἐπιβ.*) *τῶν ἱκρίων*: Aesch. *f.l.* 167, *τοὺς συνεφέβους καὶ τοὺς [συν]άρχοντας*: X. *Oec.* V. 7, *συμπαρέχουσαι. συμπαρορμῇ* (*παρορμῇ* Stob.): Philostr. *V.A.* I. 4,

δοσις . . ., [*ἐξ*] *εγένετο ὁ Πρ. τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην*: Plut. S.S.C. 150F, *ὁ Περὶανδρος [περι]ορῶν*: 2 Macc. XI. 23-24, *γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων (= ἰδίων) ἐπιμέλειαν ἀκηκοῦτες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους* (Alex.): 2 Ar. Eq. 603, *ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα Μηδείας (πεδιάς Hemsterhuys) τε οὖσα*: D. Chrys. 196B, *ἐν Βάκτροις . . . ἡ Παλιμβάκτροις (= Παλιβότροις)*. So C, according to an anonymous collation in my copy of Geel). And 'so *ad infinitum*. To the host of passages corrected or to be corrected on this principle add Lib. *Cor. or.* 3, *οὐδ' ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ὄντες ἐπέστημεν τῇ [συγ]γραφῇ, συγγενεῖς δ' ὄντες . . . τῶν ἀπολωλότων*, and Clem. Alex. *Paed.* III., § 51, *κοσμιωΔΕΣΤΕΡΑ* (*leg. κοσμιωτέρα*) *καὶ ἀνδρωΔΕΣΤΕΡΑ*. Outside this passage *κοσμιώδης*, so far as I know, has no certificate of existence.

(To be continued.)

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF HELIODORVS.

THERE seem to be five manuscripts of the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus which are of value for establishing the text :

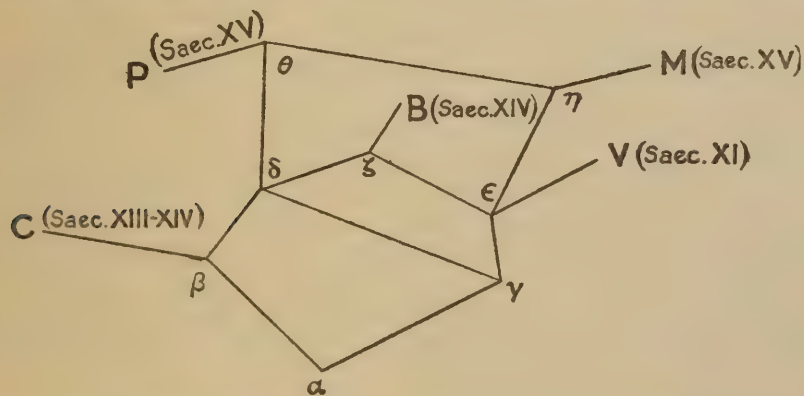
Vaticanus Graecus 157	Saec. XI.	V ¹
Vaticanus Graecus 1390	Saec. XIII.-XIV.	C
Vindobonensis Graecus 130	? Saec. XIV.	B
Monacensis Graecus 157	Saec. XV. (init.)	M
Palatinus Graecus 125	Saec. XV.	P

To these may be added with some doubt three others :

Vindobonensis Graecus 116	? Saec. XVI.	A
Taurinensis Graecus 120	Saec. XVI.	T

and
Codex Xylandri, which now seems to be lost X

Since the variations between these MSS. are not very striking, and are in the main concerned with small points, the criticism and classification of them presents many difficulties. But there is ample evidence to show that they represent at least two traditions—one handed down by BCP and the other by MV. But whereas M, V and C probably give a fairly true version of their respective ancestors, both B and P seem to be influenced to a considerable extent by the rival tradition. That is to say, that although in the majority of cases, when the MSS. are divided, BCP agree against MV, cases of B or P agreeing with M or V against C are not uncommon, whereas cases of M or V supporting members of the other group against one another are much farther to seek. The following genealogical tree would



account more or less satisfactorily for the existing phenomena. It is proposed without, of course, any pretence to exactitude, for the number of lost MSS. is

¹ I have used the letters employed by the editors for such MSS. as they have treated. C and M, which they have not quoted, I have

supplied. It may be said in passing that Hirschig seems to use V to describe both V and X.

probably much larger, and must in any case remain a matter for conjecture; but it shows in the clearest way the apparent relations between the most important extant MSS.

The evidence for a common archetype, α , is twofold. First, the comparatively small differences in the MSS., which would hardly justify the assumption that they ever had more than one original source; and, secondly, certain apparent corruptions which are common to all MSS. (e.g. I. 10 [Teubner, p. 13. 11 sq.], ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς ὁ ἐμός, where ὁ Θησεύς has surely arisen from ὁ Θησέως, a marginal gloss on Ἰππόλυτος. VI. 3 [p. 161. 9], where all MSS. give μὴ ἐπιτάττῃ, though μοι seems to be required. Compare also the more extensive corruptions on p. 262. 1 sq. and p. 265. 7 sq., where the MS. reading is πρὸς ἐναντίους φησὶν ἦν καὶ ἄσκεπτον; but in both these cases the evidence of B and C is lacking).¹

But the text as handed down to us in the extant MSS. shows that at some time, probably fairly early, two versions arose from α . The general agreement in notable readings of BCP on the one hand and MV on the other postulates a common ancestor β for the former and γ for the latter:

Teubner, p. 7. 7	κατὰ τοῦτο BCP: κὰν τοῦτῳ MV.
„ p. 7. 29	τῶν μὲν λεγομένων BCP: τῶν λεγομένων MV.
„ p. 140. 27	ἐμπειρίαν BCP: ἐμπορίαν MV.
„ p. 167. 29	χηρεύει BCP: χορεύει MV.
„ p. 168. 17	μηδὲ καθ' ὕπνου συγγένῃ VM: BCP omit the words.
„ p. 169. 1 sq.	καὶ τὸ πρό . . . ἐπισημαίνον BCP: MV omit the words.

Many other instances might be cited.

While it is clear, then, that BCP have a common ancestor, it is equally clear that this was not their direct parent, for both B and P too often are in opposition to C. It is noticeable, moreover, that B or P frequently supports M or V against its fellow and C;² and the natural conclusion is that B and P first split off from the main tradition, and then came under the influence of members of the other family. Now the agreements of P with M and V are much more frequent in the last book and a half, which leads to a further question, Was the common ancestor of BCP defective? The following considerations, though not conclusive, tend to show that it was, and that it broke off in the middle of Book IX. In the first place, two of the three extant MSS. representing the family are defective. C breaks off in the middle of VII. 7, and B in the middle of IX. 13. Now the break in B seems to be undoubtedly due to a defective parent, for it occurs in the middle of a sentence and in the middle of a page.³ The scribe continues, without leaving a gap, with the last part of Book III., which is omitted in its proper place. This may be due either to the carelessness of the scribe of B or to a misplacement of the leaves in the MS. from which he was copying. However that may be, he proceeds to complete Book III., and then brings the MS. to a close. It does not therefore look as if he had a complete MS. before him. The break in C, on the other hand, though this also is in the middle of a sentence, comes at the end of a page,⁴ so that the defect in C might be due to the loss of some of its own leaves. But it is not inconsistent with the facts to assume that originally it was defective to the same extent as B—that is to say, that it has lost on its own account from VII. 7 to IX. 13, but that it never contained

¹ Reason is given below for suspecting that β did not contain the passage in which these two difficulties occur, in which case they give no support to the theory here put forward. But the other evidence is, I think, sufficient.

² E.g. Teubner, p. 4. 18, τῆς νεώς CP: τῆς τε νεώς BMV. P. 119. 17, τὸ δὲ νῦν PMV: omitted

by BC.

³ P. 61 verso, the last words being εἰ παρὰσ-κενάζεσθαι πρὸς μάχην (Teubner, p. 258. 13), which are immediately followed by δὲ τῷ δεήσει τρόπῳ κτλ. (Teubner, p. 92. 17).

⁴ P. 200 verso. The last words are πατράν γινω . . . (Teubner, p. 186. 1).

the end of the ninth or the tenth book. This is supported by the second consideration—that in this interval between the seventh and ninth books BP retain in opposition to MV several striking readings,¹ which point to the conclusion that β had the passage and so probably C also. In the third place, after the defection of B, the agreement of P with M or V is much more frequent and notable. The alternatives which it provides are usually bad, and look like scribal errors, of which there are many examples throughout the MS. Finally, the most puzzling corruption in the whole book occurs in this passage (p. 262. 1 sq.). Might not this and several others (e.g. p. 265. 7 sq.) be due to the fact that we are here thrown back on one tradition alone, and that, as I shall endeavour to show, the less trustworthy?²

But before attempting to estimate the value of these MSS. a few words must be given to A, X and T, and, in addition, a short summary of the methods by which previous editors have constituted the text. A, X and T all belong apparently to the mixed class of MSS., and seem to be inferior companions of BP. X appears to be lost, and can only be judged from the quotations which Commelinus gives in his critical notes. Since I have not seen T, I am forced to judge this too from excerpts, made in this instance by D'Orville in his edition of *Charito*. But since the quotations are in both cases made for the purpose of showing the best the MS. in question can do, a full examination of them would probably yield no fruit. They bear traces of both traditions, but are marred by slips and interpolations. A, on the other hand, perhaps deserves more attention, though it has been vastly overrated by one editor. It belongs to the mixed class, but contains more readings peculiar to itself than any other MS. The majority of these, however, are bad, and obviously due to mistakes, while those that appear to be good are more likely to be attempts at emendation than genuine relics of another tradition. A is, in fact, a medley of corruptions, interpolations and corrections, to which reference may sometimes be made, as also to X and T; but ultimately the text must rest on the evidence of BCP and MV.

To turn to the editions, Heliodorus has been printed ten times in all between 1534 and 1856. But only three of the editors have made any attempt to arrive at the best text by using the evidence of the MSS.: Commelinus in 1596, Mitscherlich in 1794, and Hirschig in 1856. And even these did not use scientific methods: the first two considered the variants on their own merits only, while the last was carried away by partiality for a MS. of which his knowledge was both fragmentary and inaccurate.

The first edition³ is merely a transcript, more or less correct, of M, with no attempt on the part of the editor at emendation. Its only value, therefore, is as a collation of that MS. The second edition is that of Commelinus, and is by far the most important. The text is derived from four sources: The first edition, P, which he collated in full for himself, excerpts from X as communicated to him by Xylander, and readings from V provided by Andreas Schottus. With the help of the variants thus supplied he corrected many of the errors of the first edition, and produced a greatly improved text for reading purposes, and one which remained the standard until the end of the eighteenth century, for the intervening editors merely reprinted

¹ E.g. Teubner, p. 191. 27, μικρῶ BP: μικρῷ MV, p. 221. 2, ἐξήτει BP: ἐξήτει MV, p. 246. 19, ὁ γὰρ Ἰδῶσπης καὶ τοῦτου προυνόησε BP: omitted by MV.

² Whether it is right or wrong to assume that β was defective, the main question of the existence and authority of the two families is not affected. The only difference is that if β was defective, P has no more, and probably less, value than M and V in the passage in question;

whereas if β was a complete MS., then P might be judged to retain some of its readings when it is in opposition to MV.

³ Basileae ex Officina Hervagiana, February, 1534; edited by Vincentius Obsopoeus [cf. H. Simonsfeld, *Einige kunst- und literaturgeschichtliche Funde*, pp. 539-547 (*Sitzungsberichte der philol. und der histor. Classe der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1902, Heft IV.)].

his text with no alterations, except a few conjectures and many misprints. Mitscherlich¹ also used Commelinus, but with more judgment; that is to say, he used his critical notes as well as his text, and made further alterations on the strength of them. He had before him, in addition, the readings from T, quoted in D'Orville's *Charito*;² but of these, probably rightly, he makes little use. His text forms the basis of Hirschig's,³ who, however, also took into consideration A and B, two MSS. hitherto untouched. But his use of them did more harm than good to the text. He did not see either of them for himself, but, struck with admiration for some of the variants to which he had access, he put an entirely false value on A, and introduced into his text, as coming from the best MS., many readings which are clearly due to the carelessness or imagination of the scribe of one of the worst. His text, therefore, is not so satisfactory as the text of Bekker,⁴ who practically reprinted that of Coraes.⁵ The latter is simply Commelinus emended by Coraes, and the value of the edition is not its text, but its extensive commentary.

To sum up, then, the following facts are to be noted. First, that M and P are the only MSS. which have been fully collated, and that not since the sixteenth century; that ABTVX were only known to editors by selected readings, and in every case at secondhand; and, most important, that C has never been used at all. Secondly, the treatment has been throughout eclectic; no editor has made any attempt to assess the value of the MSS. which he has used, but each has selected what on its own merits appeared to him the best reading from any MS. he could find without considering its authority. Thirdly, there are no satisfactory critical notes. Commelinus provides the best, but he does not go very far, and is not blameless of misquoting even P, which he collated for himself. Mitscherlich gives no more than selections from Commelinus, with additional quotations from T. Bekker is quite useless, never mentioning variants in the MSS. at all. Hirschig's notes are the most extensive, but marred by so frequent misquotations as to be almost valueless.

The task, then, of the next editor is to rectify the shortcomings of his predecessors, and the first step must be a return to the MSS. and a scientific treatment of ALL the available evidence. I have already made an attempt to classify the MSS.; it now remains to estimate the value of the families and the individuals within them. BCP in so many cases give superior readings to MV⁶ that it can hardly be doubted that β , though possibly defective, was a better MS. than γ . If, therefore, the reading of β can be arrived at, there is a strong presumption in favour of its being correct. When the families are divided, and BCP agree in a reading, we may be fairly confident that this was the reading of β , and almost equally confident when only BC or CP agree;⁷ for in the first case P, and in the second case B, has probably been influenced by the other family. An agreement, however, of BP cannot be treated with the same certainty, for these two MSS. sometimes agree in a bad reading against a good one by C,⁸ and are occasionally in opposition to the combination CV, which is the strongest evidence of all, and probably represents α . But there are obvious errors in C, so that when C is clearly corrupt, and BP agree against MV in a possible reading, they carry a certain amount of weight, and must in any case be taken seriously after the failure of C when they

¹ *Scriptores Erotici Graeci*, Vol. II. 1792-4.

² *Charitonis Chaereas et Callirhoe*. Text and notes by J. P. D'Orville. Amsterdam, 1750.

³ *Erotici Scriptores*. Didot. Paris, 1856.

⁴ *Heliodori, Aethiopica*. Teubner. Leipzig, 1855.

⁵ *Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικά*, δ . . . μετὰ σημειώσεων ἐξέδωκε . . . Ο. Δ. Κοράης. Paris, 1804.

⁶ For examples see above.

⁷ E.g. Teubner, p. 3. 12, τρίτον ζωστήρος CP: τρίτον ζωστήρα MVB. P. 119. 17, τὸ δὲ νῦν MVP: omitted by BC.

⁸ E.g. Teubner, p. 25. 21, παρελῆσθαι παρανομήσαντος C: παρελῆσθαι omitted by BP: παρανομήσαντος omitted by MV (though V has it added in the margin by a later hand).

give several striking readings against MV, of which examples have been given,¹ and which may reasonably be supposed to be a correct reproduction of β .² However C, as far as it goes, is without much doubt the best representative of the β family, and has less individual blunders than either B or P.

When the families are divided, then, an attempt to arrive at the reading of β will probably secure the best results; but this only holds good down to the failure of B in the middle of Book IX. For even if it is not allowed that β was defective, it is a well-nigh hopeless task to attempt to reconstruct its readings from P alone, even with the dubious assistance of the inferior MSS. If, as I think right, it is assumed that β went no further than B, for the last book and a half we are thrown back on MV. Of these two V is undoubtedly the better, and must be the basis of the text for this passage. This does not mean that MV are valueless in the other parts of the book. Owing to the fact that C as well as BP present many errors peculiar to themselves, which can be nothing else than scribes' mistakes, constant reference to MV is necessary throughout. To characterize the MSS. in a few words, BCP are inferior members of a good family, while MV, and especially V, are good members of an inferior one. Although it may be argued that it is unlikely that the inferior family will retain the correct reading just at the places where the better family fails, yet, since the points of difference are on the whole small, it seems safer to follow MV if possible than to resort to conjecture. For it must be remembered that when BCP all give different readings, or when BP are opposed to C, it is possible that the errors are personal and not handed down from β , which must, of course, in the vast majority of cases, have been the same as γ . Therefore the text must be eclectic to some extent, but only within limits. By taking all the evidence into consideration, and exercising consistency as far as possible in its treatment, there could be constituted a text of the *Aethiopica* which would bear a much greater resemblance than the existing ones to the composition of Heliodorus.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing this article, I have found reason to believe that the MS. which Hirschig quotes under the letter V is the same as that which Commelinus cites as X or Xyl. and also the same as the one collated by Amyot, whose readings Coraes gives in his commentary. Hirschig, then, did not use Vat. 157 at all. If his V readings are sometimes the same as those of Vat. 157, it is only because the MSS., which I call V and X, do, not infrequently, agree, as can be seen from the notes of Commelinus.

R. M. RATTENBURY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS.

¹ P. 179, note 1.

² Since B and P, when they disagree with C, only rarely agree with one another, it would perhaps be better to assume that their ancestors broke off from β independently instead of postulating, as I have done in the tree, a common parent for them (δ). However, there are cases

such as that quoted on p. 180, note 8. The very fact that BP rarely agree against C when it is available is strong evidence in support of the contention that an agreement of BP after C's failure gives a reading which C and so β would have given had they been extant.

A NOTE ON THE POLICY OF CLODIUS.

THE following note is written with reference to an article in the *C.Q.* of April, 1924, the substance of which was that in 58 B.C. Clodius was acting consistently in the interests of Caesar, and at no time seriously attacked him. In discussing his 'attacks upon the acts of Caesar,' referred to in *De domo*, § 40, and *De har. resp.*, § 48, the view was then taken that the attack was purely ironical, 'though Clodius probably found pleasure in pressing it as it placed Pompey and the Optimates, who were friendly to him, in a very awkward predicament.' It is this point which I wish to correct; and would now say that the primary object of the manoeuvre was to embarrass Pompey and to create trouble between him and the Optimates, with whom he was then trying to make friends.

The date of this attack is *subsequent*¹ to the affair of Tigranes'² and Pompey's 'accession to the constitutional cause' in May, 58,³ and *prior*⁴ to the alleged attempted assassination of Pompey on August 11;⁵ it was made at a time when Clodius' tribunate was being threatened;⁶ it was connected with the question of Cicero's recall;⁷ it took the form of an offer to the Optimates—'a most fallacious offer' Cicero says;⁸ and it was undoubtedly part of the attack on Pompey.⁹

In *De prou. cons.*, § 46, we have the statement that on several occasions offers were made by the Optimates to Caesar that his measures should be *re-enacted with due observance of the auspices*. This clearly represents an attempt at reconciliation between the Senatorial party and Caesar, and an invitation to him to sever his connexion with the 'populares.'¹⁰ As the expressed object of the offer was to restore the 'constitutional safeguard'¹¹ of the auspices, presumably it did *not* include the recognition of the validity of Clodius' tribunate—for one of his first measures had been to pass a law to abolish those safeguards altogether.¹² By May, 58, Pompey had begun to show an interest in the recall of Cicero,¹³ had been insulted and attacked by Clodius,¹⁴ and had publicly denounced the Popular party.¹⁵ There is no doubt that the policy of reconciliation with the Senate had commenced, and that attempts were made to secure the participation of Caesar¹⁶—attempts which, in spite of Caesar's non-committal attitude, were ultimately, in the autumn of 57, assumed to have been successful.¹⁷ I would therefore date the commencement of the offers referred to in *De prou. cons.*, § 46, to the early summer of 58, and suggest that what happened was as follows:

In May, 58, proposals were put forward,¹⁸ partly with a view to Cicero's recall,

¹ *De har. resp.* 48. Cf. *Pro Sest.* 67-68.

² *Att.* III. 8. 3.

³ *Pro Sest.* 67, etc.

⁴ *De har. resp.* 48-49, 'longius processit; in ipsum Cn. Pompeium . . . inuehi coepit,' et seq.

⁵ *Ascon.* 47 (ed. Orelli).

⁶ *De domo* 40, 'Tu tuo praecipitante iam et debilitato tribunatu auspiciorum patronus subito exstististi.'

⁷ *Ib.* 'quod si fieret,' etc.

⁸ *De har. resp.* 48.

⁹ *Ib.* 48-49.

¹⁰ Whose particular policy it had been to attack the auspices. Cf. *In Vat.* 14-15; *Pro Sest.* 33, etc.

¹¹ Cf. *Att.* II. 9. 1, 'qui omnia remedia rei-

publicae effuderunt, etc.'

¹² Cf. *Pro Sest.* 33, etc.

¹³ *Att.* III. 8. 3.

¹⁴ *Ib.* *Ascon.* 47.

¹⁵ *Pro Sest.* 67, etc.

¹⁶ Cf. *Pro Sest.* 71; *Att.* III. 18. 1.

¹⁷ Cf. *Ad fam.* I. 9. 14; *De prou. cons.* 25.

¹⁸ Cf. *De domo* 40, 'praecipitante iam et debilitato tribunatu.' *De har. resp.* 50, 'cuius initia furoris dissensionibus eorem qui tum a nobis seiuncti uidebantur sustentata sunt. Reliqua iam praecipitantis tribunatus . . . obrectatores eorum atque aduersarii defenderunt.' Cf. also Heitland, Vol. III., pp. 173-174; *De domo* 34-39; *De prou. cons.* 45-46; Dio 39. 21.

that Clodius' tribunate should be declared null and void 'quod contra auspicia adoptatus esset.'¹ Pompey, whom Clodius had already alienated by the Tigranes episode, would sympathize with the effort to remove him;² but the ratification of his own acts and the settlement of his veterans suffered from the same defect as Clodius' adoption, since all the acts of Caesar had been carried against the auspices.³ Pompey's rapprochement with the Optimates had already begun, and consequently tentative offers were made to Caesar that his measures should be re-enacted with the due observance of the auspices, the condition being that he should sever his connexion with the 'populares,' and that Clodius and his measures should go.⁴ Clodius' retort was to turn the tables by a sham attack upon the acts of Caesar. He 'suddenly began to offer himself most fallaciously for sale'⁵ to the Optimate irreconcilables, from certain of whom he received no little encouragement.⁶ His offer in effect was that he should stay⁷ and Caesar's legislation go. This was not practical politics of course, as Clodius very well knew; but the manoeuvre was calculated to attain several objects simultaneously—to attack Pompey at his most vulnerable point, the settlement of his veterans and the ratification of his acts; to bring up anew the old matters of contention between him and the Optimates,⁸ and so to check his rapprochement with the Senate and drive him back on his alliance with Caesar to defend their common interests against the common foe; to block the recall of Cicero by raising the impasse, in which he was quite successful;⁹ to secure the support of a section of the irreconcilables who were foolish or calculating enough to take the bait;¹⁰ to protect his own position, threatened by Pompey and his senatorial friends; and finally to 'camouflage' his own connexion with Caesar.

Lest it should be thought that we are giving Clodius credit for too much ingenuity, we have only to consider the cliques and factions of Roman politicians, their forensic training, and the prevalence of every known form of collusive manoeuvre in their law courts, as also the fact that Clodius was no beginner. He is accused of 'præuaricatio' in his prosecution of Catiline in 65;¹¹ in 59 Curio told Cicero that Clodius was at daggers drawn with Caesar, and if elected tribune intended to 'rescind his acts,' and that Caesar was opposed to his adoption.¹² Cicero clearly expresses his doubt of the tale,¹³ but, as Professor Tyrrell¹⁴ says, 'the blind seems to have been successful for a while.' We may also call to mind the number of birds which Clodius aimed to kill with one stone when he despatched Cato on his mission to Cyprus—to secure his good will,¹⁵ to get rid of him,¹⁶ to invalidate his objections in the future to the giving of extraordinary commissions,¹⁷ to give him a thoroughly invidious task,¹⁸ and to impeach him, if convenient, on his

¹ *De domo* 40.

² Cf. *De har. resp.* 50; *vide* n. 18, *supra*.

³ *De domo* 40.

⁴ The Senate might exercise its discretion in such a case. Cf. Willems, *Droit public romain*, p. 155; Cic. *De leg.* II. 12, 31.

⁵ *De har. resp.* 48.

⁶ *Ib.*, 'Ferebant in oculis hominem quidam boni uiri . . . inibat gratiam a nonnullis.' Cf. *ib.* 50.

⁷ 'Become a good Optimate and restore the father of his fatherland on his own shoulders' (*De domo* 40). Cicero's suggestion that he did not realize that his own position was involved (*De har. resp.* 48, 'quam caecus amentia non uidebat') need not be taken seriously.

⁸ The question of the agrarian laws and the 'donations' of the eastern kingdoms (cf. *Fam.* 1. 9. 7, and *Att.* II. 9. 1).

⁹ Cf. *Pro Sest.* 73. His measure against Cicero was subsequently attacked on fresh grounds: 'etiamsi iure esset rogatum, tamen uim habere non posset.'

¹⁰ Cf. *De har. resp.* 48, 'Ferebant in oculis quidam boni uiri,' et sqq. *Ib.* 50, 'Volo' inquiunt 'esse qui in contione detrahat de Pompeio.' Cf. *Q. fr.* II. 2. 2 and 3, where Bibulus, Favonius, Curio, and Servilius join him again in attacks on Pompey.

¹¹ *De har. resp.* 42.

¹² *Att.* II. 12. 2.

¹³ *Ib.*

¹⁴ *Correspondence of Cicero, ad loc.*

¹⁵ *De domo* 65, 'quasi per beneficium.' Cf. Dio 39. 22.

¹⁶ *De domo* 22, 65; *Pro Sest.* 60.

¹⁷ *De domo* 22; *Pro Sest.* 60.

¹⁸ Cf. *Pro Sest.* 60, 'splendorem maculare.'

return;¹ nor should we forget that Caesar wrote to congratulate Clodius on his cleverness in 58,² and, according to some, was actually directing his operations against Cato in 56.³

Had Clodius really been attacking Caesar in 58, we should have expected some mention of the Lex Vatinia which gave Caesar his command in Gaul; above all we should have expected some protest from Caesar (which Cicero would surely not have neglected to record), if not his acceptance of those offers of the Optimates and the prompt suppression of Clodius by the combined forces of the triumvirate. But there appears to be no evidence that Caesar's relations with Clodius and the populares became strained at all. Clodius and Vatinius collaborated in the prosecution of Milo and Sestius in 56,⁴ and Vatinius at any rate continued to boast of his excellent relations with Caesar;⁵ and—apart from other evidence⁶—we have Dio's statement that Caesar was hand-in-glove with Clodius at the same time.⁷ Nor do I now think it altogether correct to say that the violence of Clodius drove Pompey into the arms of the Optimates. On the one hand Pompey appears to have needed no driving—his negotiations with the Optimates quite probably commenced before the attacks of Clodius;⁸ on the other Clodius hindered their rapprochement, and kept Pompey in comparative impotence for a full year,⁹ whilst in the course of his attacks on Pompey he obtained the support of a section, at any rate, of the Optimates,¹⁰ who appear later on in alliance with him and Crassus against Pompey, who was then once more intriguing against the interests of Caesar.¹¹

There is one more point: In *Ad fam.* 1. 9. 9 we have Pompey's statement that all he had done for Cicero's recall had been done with Caesar's assent. If the statement is only half true, that assent must have been given in 58. It seems clear that Caesar was reluctant to have Cicero back, but probably he was hardly in a position to refuse Pompey's request point-blank. During that year Sestius undertook a mission to Caesar on Cicero's behalf, and Cicero's remark as to its results—'quid egerit quantum profecerit, nihil ad causam. equidem existimo, si ille ut arbitror, aequus nobis fuerit, nihil ab hoc profectum, sin iratior, non multum'¹²—implies a qualified assent on the part of Caesar. Possibly his reply was that *he had no objection to Cicero's return if the assent of the people were obtained*. This was, at any rate, the line that Pompey followed in January of the next year. As the first act of his consulship Spinther again brought up the case of Cicero.¹³ Pompey gave his warm support, but added his opinion 'ut ad Senatus auctoritatem populi quoque Romani beneficium adiungeretur';¹⁴ and it was precisely this consent of the 'people' that the faithful Clodius and his gang of roughs were able to withhold until August, 57.

L. G. Pocock.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

¹ Cf. Dio 39. 23. 3.

² *De domo* 22.

³ Dio 39. 23. 4.

⁴ Cf. *In Vat.* 41.

⁵ Cf. *In Vat.* 13, 15, 38; *Pro Sest.* 132, 135.

⁶ See *C.Q.*, April, 1924.

⁷ Dio 39. 23. 4.

⁸ *Att.* III. 8. The first of Cicero's letters which refers to the Tigranes' episode also con-

tains the news that Varro and Hypsaeus, friends of Pompey, had been active on his behalf.

⁹ Cf. *Pro Sest.* 69; *De domo* 67; *De har. resp.* 49; Ascon. 47.

¹⁰ Cf. *De har. resp.* 48, 50, etc.

¹¹ *Q. fr.* II. 3. 2 and 3; *C.Q.*, April, 1924.

¹² *Pro Sest.* 71.

¹³ *Ib.* 72, 73.

¹⁴ *Ib.* 74.

THE *LEX MAMILIA ROSCIA PEDVCAEA ALLIENA FABIA*.

I PREFIX to this paper for convenience of reference the three extant chapters of the law :

K.L. III. Quae colonia hac lege deducta quodue municipium praefectura forum conciliabulum constitutum erit, qui ager intra fines eorum erit, qui termini in eo agro statuti erunt, quo in loco terminus non stabit, in eo loco is, cuius is ager erit, terminum restituendum curato, uti quod recte factum esse uolet : idque magistratus, qui in ea colonia municipio praefectura foro conciliabulo iure dicundo praeerit, facito ut fiat.

K.L. IIIL. Qui limites decumanique hac lege deducti erunt, quaecumque fossae limitales in eo agro erunt, qui ager hac lege datus adsignatus erit, ne quis eos limites decumanosque obsaeptos neue quid in eis molitum neue quid ibi opsaeptum habeto, neue eos arato, neue eis fossas opturato neue opsaepto, quominus suo itinere aqua ire fluere possit. Si quis aduersus ea quid fecerit, is in res singulas quotienscumque fecerit, HS IIII colonis municipibusue eis, in quorum agro id factum erit, dare damnas esto, eiusque pecuniae qui uolet petitio hac lege esto.

K.L. V. Qui hac lege coloniam deduxerit, municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit, in eo agro qui ager intra fines eius coloniae municipii fori conciliabuli praefecturae erit, limites decumanique ut fiant terminique statuantur curato ; quosque fines ita statuerit, ii fines eorum sunt, dum ne extra agrum colonicum territoriumue fines ducat. Quique termini hac lege statuti erunt, ne quis eorum quem eicito neue loco moueto sciens dolo malo. Si quis aduersus ea fecerit, is in terminos singulos, quos eiecerit locoue mouerit sciens dolo malo, HS V m(ilia) n(ummum) in publicum eorum, quorum intra fines is ager erit, dare damnas esto : deque ea re curatoris qui hac lege erit iuris dictio reciperatorumque datio addictio esto. Cum curator hac lege non erit, tum quicumque magistratus in ea colonia municipio praefectura foro conciliabulo iure dicundo praeerit, eius magistratus de ea re iuris dictio iudicisque datio addictio esto ; inque eam rem is qui hac lege iudicium dederit, testibus publice dumtaxat in res singulas X denuntiandi potestatem facito ita, ut ei e re publica fideque sua uidebitur. Et si is unde ea pecunia petita erit condemnatus erit, eam pecuniam ab eo deue bonis eius primo quoque die exigit : eiusque pecuniae quod receptum erit partem dimidiam ei cuius unius opera maxime is condemnatus erit, dato, partem dimidiam in publicum redigito. Quo ex loco terminus aberit, si quis in eum locum terminum restituere uolet, sine fraude sua liceto facere, neue quid cui is ob eam rem hac lege dare damnas esto.

It has long been a perplexing problem to discover for these three clauses their proper place in the agrarian legislation of the republic. Most scholars have hitherto attributed them to the Caesarian age, but there has been a tendency of late, especially on the Continent, to find an earlier date, and, in accordance with it, to elaborate an appropriate context for laws usually regarded as the work of Caesar. These attempts have usually been far from successful, leading, as they do, to the construction of imaginary situations, and, as often as not, to a forced and arbitrary interpretation of the documents in question. The occasion for the present paper is another ingenious and in some points attractive attempt on the part of Professor Fabricius of

Freiburg¹ to apply this method of reconstruction to the law of which these chapters form a part. His theory is in my opinion open to both the lines of criticism which I have indicated.

The chapters themselves, belonging, it would seem, to a law brought forward, like that associated with the name of Servilius Rullus, by several members of a tribunician college, have been preserved, as we know from Bruns, p. 95, in a collection of the *Scriptores Gromatici*. They are numbered K.L. III, K.L. IIII, and K.L. V. They all refer on the face of them to the setting up and safeguarding by individual owners or state commissioners or local magistrates of boundaries and landmarks (*limites* and *termini*) within the territories of colonies founded, or *municipia*, *praefecturae*, *fora*, or *conciliabula* 'constituted' by the law.

The second chapter (K.L. IIII) is found word for word in cap. 104 of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, while the third (K.L. V) is cited in full as from an agrarian law 'quam C. Caesar tulit' in the *Digest*, XLVII. 21, 3. *Prima facie*, therefore, there has seemed some reason for connecting these clauses with some part of Caesar's agrarian or colonial legislation, though so far no theory has satisfactorily explained what the exact connexion may be.

But Professor Fabricius has quite a different explanation, suggested it would almost seem in the first instance by the cognomen Limitanus, attributed on no very certain evidence to C. Mamilius, tribune in 109 B.C., as its first holder. Here we have on the one hand a law dealing in all its three extant chapters with the subject of *limites*, and whose principal proposer was named Mamilius; and on the other hand a popular tribune of the year 109, also named Mamilius, who was the author of the anti-senatorial *quaestio Mamilia*, and whose full name has been handed down as C. Mamilius Limitanus. No coincidence would seem more opportune for a new and original hypothesis. As for the other four proposers of the law, who, it is argued, must have belonged to the popular section of the tribunician college for the year, it happens that a L. Roscius and a C. Fabius appear as mint officials about this time, while a Sex. Peducaeus, concerned on the evidence of Livy, Asconius, and Valerius Maximus in the trial of some Vestals, was tribune perhaps in 113, perhaps, as it is contended, a few years later. These coincidences, however, do not carry us very far; while the context of the passage in *De Nat. deor.* III. 17, where in the same sentence Cicero alludes to the *quaestio Coniurationis Iugurthinae* and a *quaestio de incestu rogatione Peducaea*, will show that there is nothing in it to justify the inference that Mamilius and Peducaeus were tribunes in the same year.

But Professor Fabricius has to establish the political or agrarian situation in 109, which called for and explains the law which gave Mamilius his cognomen. To do this he has no alternative but to represent the *Lex Agraria* of 111 as a reactionary measure favourable to the rich and noble classes, and the supposed *Lex Mamilia* as a democratic corrective to this passed only two years later.

As for the reactionary character of the *Lex Agraria*, I have already attempted (*Roman Laws and Charters*, pp. 35 sqq.) to show that there is no justification for regarding it in this light; and although Professor Fabricius describes my arguments as subjective, he does not meet them. His points are that by the working of the Gracchan laws and by the supplementary legislation of 118 and 111 (*App.* I. 27), especially the latter, immense quantities of what had been *ager publicus* before 133 had now become the private property of individuals. Not only had a large number of small holders, perhaps sixty or seventy thousand, received plots of public land from the IIIviri, confirmed to them in 111, but several colonies like Tarentum had been established, and apparently individual prospective colonists had received land, also confirmed in 111, in places not actually colonized. Moreover, some of the larger

¹ *Über die lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, von Ernst Fabricius.

landowners, as the result of compulsory exchanges, had received parcels of what had once been public land as an equivalent for that taken away from them. To all this has to be added the important change effected in 111, by which the maximum of 500 *iugera* of public land, retained by the old *possessores*, was converted into their private property. According to Professor Fabricius all this land, as long as it remained in the category of *ager publicus*, had not come within the range of the official land surveyors, and was therefore without any precise system of *termini* or *limites*. But now that it had become private land, it was essential that such a system should be made compulsory by law. To effect this object was the primary aim of the *Lex Mamilia*. I may notice in passing a certain inconsistency in our author's presentation of this law. On the one hand he represents it as having a very precise and almost temporary object, while on the other he insists on its extremely general character, contending that Cicero (*De legg.* I. 21, 55) places it in this respect side by side with the provisions of the XII. Tables.

But, to put this on one side, this official and legal delimitation of all the land now made private, overlooked as it was by the law of 111, was vital, in Professor Fabricius' view, to the interests of the smaller owners as against possible encroachments on the part of their rich and noble neighbours. By this method alone could it be determined in particular cases whether the former possessors were keeping to the 500 *iugera* limit, 'quantum unum hominem sibi ex lege plebeie scito sumere relinquere licuit,' while in no other way could the smaller owners feel secure in their new holdings. The law, therefore, which made this delimitation compulsory and general was wholly on Gracchan lines. It was a necessary supplement and corrective to the law of 111, and it well entitled its chief author to his cognomen *Limitanus*.

But, according to our author, there was another point hardly less important which the popular party in the interest of the smaller owners was to gain by this law. The exceptional 'Gracchana iurisdictio,' temporarily set aside by Scipio Africanus, had been definitely abolished by the *Lex Thoria*, when the *IIIviri a.d. a.* disappeared. Accordingly, the law of 111 had made careful provision (vv. 33 sqq.) for a permanent system of jurisdiction to settle all disputes arising from the newly acquired ownership of what had hitherto been public land. All such disputes were in future to be brought before the consuls and praetors, the censors being, in cases where public land was concerned, associated with these magistrates. This arrangement Professor Fabricius very unconvincingly declares to have been contrary to the interests of the poorer owners and wholly favourable to the rich and noble landlords. It was apparently to counteract these aristocratic sympathies of the *Lex Agraria* that the *Lex Mamilia*, so it is argued, combined with its scheme for the delimitation of these newly acquired lands a wide and daring policy of colonial and municipal development, as the result of which all this land would fall within the territory of this or that Italian municipality, and all agrarian jurisdiction would eventually be transferred to the local magistrates of these towns. It was at this juncture in 109 B.C., we are asked to believe, that the democratic party undertook on the one hand an important scheme of colonization and on the other the beginnings of the process, by which towns of peregrine status, primarily perhaps those in whose environment the lands in question lay, were to be 'constituted' into Roman towns, with definitely bounded territories and with constitutional and administrative machinery of the Roman type. To carry out these objects commissioners (*curatores*), as in agrarian laws generally (*De leg. agrar.* II. 17), were appointed, and in their hands was again placed the 'Gracchana iurisdictio,' though, when their work was done, or in places where no curator was sent, 'si curator hac lege non erit,' jurisdiction in respect of all the lands affected was to be put into the hands of the colonial or municipal magistrates, a change definitely cancelling the judicial clauses of the law of 111.

Such was the scope and object of the *Lex Mamilia* as Professor Fabricius interprets it. Its primary aim was to establish a compulsory system of delimitation for all lands which, having been public in 133, had since become private property. But along with this object, and perhaps to make it practicable, though Professor Fabricius does not sufficiently work out this point and leaves his readers to do so for themselves, all the land in question was to be attached to the neighbouring Italian towns, which, in order that their magistrates might be in a position to perform all necessary judicial functions, had to be 'constituted' into full Roman communities.

It is impossible in my opinion to accept the picture drawn for us by Professor Fabricius of the situation in 109, two years after the great agrarian settlement in 111. Neither of the two motives suggested for this new democratic legislation seems to have any foundation in reality. The Gracchan commissioners had been in existence for fifteen years before their disappearance in 118, and we have evidence that among their activities had been included the task of setting up boundary stones to mark the new allotments of public land. We may infer, therefore, that the small holders were already sufficiently protected in this respect, while one would imagine that in the public interest the 500 *iugera* left to the old *possessores* would be officially measured out and entered in the land registers (*tabulae*). The law of 111 created no additional private land except these amounts of 500 *iugera*; and even if the delimitation of these still remained uncompleted, its completion would surely have been as much to the interest of the larger owners themselves as of the smaller. It is therefore difficult to see where the democratic party detected the crying need for this general measure of land termination, which was so important as to furnish a new cognomen for its proposer. Nor is it easier to understand the supposed grievance in connexion with the jurisdiction set up by the law of 111.

The extraordinary judicial powers of the Gracchan *IIIviri* had been called for by the difficulties attending the resumption of so much public land, and when they were put in abeyance by Scipio, it was in the interest, not of the nobles, but of the Italians. They were restored in 123, and presumably were exercised, when necessary, for five years more. There had therefore been every opportunity to clear away the difficult cases, and when we consider impartially the settlement of 111, and its legal confirmation of all lands made private since 133, the provision made by it for agrarian jurisdiction by no means justifies the suggestion that it was intended to benefit the nobles, or that any restoration of the *Gracchana iurisdictio* was demanded or attempted. But, even if it were conceded that the situation in 109 was what Professor Fabricius represents it to have been, it is not too much to say that in no single point is it confirmed by the three chapters of the law on which he professes to base his theory. When we turn to these we find that the whole hypothesis of a crying need in the interest of the poorer owners for a general delimitation of all the land recently made private crumbles away. It turns out that the primary object of the law must have been, not this general and compulsory delimitation, but what our author regards as secondary or concomitant, the foundation of colonies and the 'constitution' of *municipia*, *praefecturae*, *fora* and *conciliabula*. Thus the first chapter begins: 'Quae colonia hac lege deducta quodue municipium praefectura forum conciliabulum constitutum erit,' and proceeds to direct that, where boundary marks within the territory of the colony or municipium are missing, they shall be set up by the owners of the land, and that the magistrates of the place shall see that it is done. Similarly the third chapter begins: 'Qui hac lege coloniam deduxerit, municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit,' and directs that these commissioners shall see to the setting up within the territory of the colony or municipium of *limites* and *decumani*, while it goes on to specify the penalties for neglect or violation of these obligations, placing the necessary judicial procedure in such cases in the hands of the *curatores*, or failing them, of the magistrates of the colony or *municipium*. That the

second chapter also equally assumes the setting up of *limites*, and their maintenance free from obstructions of all kinds to be consequent on the foundation of a colony is proved by the fact that we find it repeated word for word in cap. 104 of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*. I take these considerations to be conclusive against the view that what was prescribed by this law was a general and compulsory delimitation of all land made private since 133. On the contrary, the only lands on which these *limites* were to be set up and maintained were the territories of those particular towns, which were colonized or 'constituted' by the law itself. Such regulations no more imply a democratic protest against a reactionary law than did the insertion of one of these chapters in the charter of Caesar's colony in Spain.

As to the question of jurisdiction, a reference to the actual regulations contained in the third of these chapters will show at once that they are out of all relation to the judicial clauses in the *Lex Agraria* of 111. The latter are concerned with the settlement of disputes by the consuls and praetors in connexion with the ownership of all lands made private property since 133. The former merely specify the penalties for failing to set up or maintain *limites*, and place the judicial procedure in such cases in the hands of curators or the local magistrates. How these apparently simple regulations can have been so misread as to suggest the view that the agrarian jurisdiction assigned in the *Lex Agraria* to the consuls and praetors was transferred by them to the municipal magistrates, and how a new political situation can have been manufactured out of them, I confess that for my part I find it difficult to understand.

That the primary object of the *Lex Mamilia*, as far as it can be gathered from its three extant chapters, was the 'deduction' of colonies and the 'constitution' of *municipia praefecturae fora* and *conciliabula*, we have already seen, and it remains to consider whether either of these activities was in any way appropriate to the year 109 B.C. The younger Gracchus had put forward a scheme for the establishment of 'many colonies' in Italy. The carrying out of this scheme, accompanied by a completed system of road construction, would have gone far towards ensuring the success of the agrarian legislation, as ready access to market towns would thereby have been secured to the small holders. But it is clear that the scheme failed. Colonies were established at Tarentum and Scylacium, and apparently some isolated colonists were sent elsewhere, but that was all. The main reason for this failure must have been that there was no public land, and especially no contiguous public land, available for colonies. It was no doubt part of the scheme of C. Gracchus eventually to secure the necessary land by resuming that portion of public land which was occupied on terms of corporate *possessio* by Italian communities. But an antecedent condition has been still, as in 125, the bestowal of the Roman citizenship, as compensation for the loss of the land (App. I. 21). But this policy had miscarried, the land had not been available, and by the law of 111 the occupation and usufruct of their lands had been legally guaranteed to the Italian towns (*Lex Agraria* V. 30 sqq.). Livius Drusus, twenty years later, may have contemplated the resumption of this land for colonies (App. I. 35), and Sulla certainly took it for his military colonization in 81 (App. I. 100); but in 109 such a step was surely out of the question, and nine years later, when Saturninus required colonies for the old soldiers of Marius, he made no attempt to find the necessary land in Italy. I do not, therefore, find it possible to believe that in 109 any law by any party was passed for the foundation of colonies in Italy.

With regard to the 'constitution' of *municipia praefecturae fora* and *conciliabula* (an object which stands in the law parallel with that of colonization), the view held by Professor Fabricius is to all appearances somewhat vague and indeterminate. But one point seems clear—viz., that the process applied to towns of peregrine status and that on its completion they were endowed with the Roman *ciuitas*. It was therefore on this view, at least, a step towards the enfranchisement of Italy. Is it possible to

assign such a step to the year 109? When we remember on the one hand the fact that Fulvius Flaccus in 125 and C. Gracchus in 122 had been compelled to relinquish their schemes of enfranchisement owing to general opposition, and on the other that Saturninus in 100 was unable to provide anything more than a back-door admission to a certain number of individual Italians, while Livius Drusus in 91 failed to carry out his promised measure of enfranchisement, it seems to me that the year 109 must be decisively ruled out as wholly unsuited to such a policy on the part of Mamilius and his colleagues as that attributed to them by Professor Fabricius.

But I would go further than this, for not only does his theory contradict the historical situation at the time, but the very phrase 'municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituere' is, in my opinion, inapplicable to the period antecedent to the Social War. As he tells us, the term 'constituere' in its technical sense of framing a constitution for a town was familiar in Cicero's day, though he mentions no instance except that of Arpinum in 46 (Cic. *Ad Fam.* XIII. 11). The question is whether it was used, or could be used, in the same sense in the period before the enfranchisement of Italy. Professor Fabricius is not very explicit as to what 'constituere' exactly connoted, but, as we have seen, he certainly makes it include the grant of the Roman franchise to the town 'constituted.' I submit that this is not the sense in which the term is used in Cicero's time. Arpinum, to take his own instance, had long been a Roman *municipium*. So, too, was Tarentum, in connexion with which fragments of the 'constituting' charter have been preserved, while any other towns 'constituted' during this period would, of course, have already received the franchise through the operation of the *Lex Iulia de ciuitate* of 89 B.C. In fact, the 'constitution' of a town implied, as far as the evidence is available, its previous enfranchisement, and was therefore inapplicable to the year 109, when Italian communities, with the exception of existing Roman colonies and a certain number of towns like Arpinum, were still of peregrine status. The conclusion, therefore, to which these various considerations lead, is the rejection of the ingenious theory put forward by Professor Fabricius, as inconsistent alike with the political and agrarian situation in the years immediately following the *Lex Agraria* of 111, and with a critical interpretation of the three chapters of the *Lex Mamilia* which have been preserved.

As to the real date of the law or the place which it may have occupied in any legislative programme of its time, I have no new theory of my own to propound. But when we bear in mind (i.) that colonization was the principal feature of Caesar's agrarian measures in 63, 59, and in his dictatorship; (ii.) that Caesar's interest in giving logical effect to the enfranchisement of Italy is shown by his municipal law, and especially by the last paragraph of the Table of Heraclea, which implies the recent sending out of commissioners to 'constitute' *municipia fundana*; (iii.) that the description of the towns to be 'constituted' in the *Lex Mamilia* corresponds exactly with those of enfranchised Italy in the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, and with those of the enfranchised Gallia Cisalpina in the *Lex Rubria*; (iv.) that Caesar's care for the setting up of boundaries within a colonial territory is proved by the insertion of the second of these chapters in the charter of his Spanish colony; and finally, that the last chapter of the three is headed in the Digest with the words 'lege agraria quam C. Caesar tulit—' when we bear in mind all these points, there seems sufficient *prima facie* reason for attributing this law to Caesar's period, possibly to Caesar's initiative. The *Lex Mamilia* may just as well have been a part of Caesar's legislation as the *Leges Vatiniae*, or as the *Lex Acilia* and *Lex Rubria* were of the Gracchan policy. We really have little detailed knowledge of the exact scope of Caesar's two agrarian laws in 59 B.C. What we do know is that in 63 he had in view an extensive scheme of Italian colonization, and yet that the second law of 59 resulted, as far as is known, in no more than two colonies, and seems to have dealt only with the *ager Campanus*

(conf. *Lex Campana*). It seems no unreasonable hypothesis to suggest that in some year between 59 and 52, after which the breach with Pompey would have made it impossible, Caesar may have put into the hands of tribunes favourable to his cause the further promotion of his scheme for the establishment of colonies, and at the same time the task of speeding up the 'constitution' of the enfranchised towns by sending out commissioners. The latter provision would not unnaturally find a place in an agrarian law, as the present fragment and the clause in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* prove that the delimitation of land was one of the functions falling upon commissioners or *deductores*, and there were probably clauses to the same effect, in addition to that concerning roads, dykes and sewers (*Lex Mun. Tarent. V.*), in the lost portion of the charter of Tarentum. Whether the suggestion which I tentatively put forward can be in any way substantiated by the identification of all or some of the five tribunes mentioned in the title of our fragment is a question into which I cannot pretend to enter.

E. G. HARDY.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Dr. Max Cary has made a valuable contribution towards the solution of this part of the problem in a paper appearing in the *Journal of Philology* (Vol. XXXV. pp. 184 sqq.). He points out that L. Roscius and A. Allienus were colleagues in the praetorship in 49 B.C., and that Sex Peducaeus was governor of Sardinia in 48. Whether Peducaeus after the '*Lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*' could have been praetor the year before is perhaps open to some doubt, but Roscius certainly passed an important law for Caesar in his praetorship. But, though this year was entirely appropriate to the passing of a law providing for the 'constitution' of the newly enfranchised towns in Gallia Cisalpina, I do not feel sure that such provisions would be likely to be added to a law for the future establishment of transmarine colonies like that at Urso or the military settlements in Gaul and Spain. I should prefer, if the evidence allowed, to limit the operation of the law to Italy, and to find an earlier date for it, perhaps in the year when these praetors of 49 may have been colleagues in the tribuneship. But I gather from his phrase 'the foundation of colonies *municipia praefecturae*, etc.,' that Dr. Max Cary assigns a different meaning to the term '*municipium constituere*' from that which I have assumed throughout my paper.

FLOSCVLI PHILOXENI.

THE purpose of the following notes is to draw attention to certain glosses in the Philoxenus glossary, and to discuss points arising out of them. The numeration of the glosses is that adopted in the forthcoming critical edition of this important bilingual dictionary.

FLAGRATVS SVM.

Gloss FL 7 in Philoxenus reads as follows :

Flagro, flagratus sum : Καίωμα.

In the Latin *Thesaurus* (846, 44) *flagratus* is explained as a passive form, but it is hard to see what justification there is for this. Active verbs with deponent perfects were quite common in early Latin, and in many cases, though active perfects gradually superseded the older forms, the old deponents survived as adjectives (e.g. *maestus*, *tacitus*).¹ It is more reasonable, therefore, to see in *flagratus sum* a genuine deponent perfect of *flagro* used by some early Republican writer ; and since Philoxenus derived his relics of early Latin from Festus, it can scarcely be doubted that FL 7 is a Festus gloss. In the full original Philoxenus glossary there may even have been a quotation from or reference to an early writer, with which Festus would have illustrated the archaic form of perfect.²

CELTIS.

It has been a matter of some dispute in recent years whether there existed in Latin a genuine word *celtis* (or *celtes*) from which our own English 'celt' is derived. The writer of the article in the Oxford *English Dictionary* (s.v. *celt*) inclines to the belief that *celtis* was a phantom word, and that its occurrence in a few late medieval writers is ultimately due to their acquaintance with a passage in the Vulgate version of Job xix. 24, in which the MSS. reading *celte*, not *certe*, was to be found.³ The word *celtis* is, however, admitted as a genuine form into the Latin *Thesaurus*, and this admission is there justified by two passages from the veterinary writer Chiron (16 and 693). This justification is weak, for in one passage the MS. reading is *celle*, in the other *cella*, so that the word has been accepted in the dictionary on the strength of two emendations.

The readings of various exstant Vulgate MSS. in Job xix. 24 have been exhaustively considered in two recent articles by Professor Burkitt, who argues that *certe* is the right reading both in Job and in Jerome's tract *adu. Johannem* 30. In a postscript to the former article there is also an emendation by Professor Housman of the passages in Chiron ; he would read *securicella* in both passages.⁴

A further question, however, arises at this point : the first antiquarian to coin the English word 'celt' must have found a Latin form *celtis* somewhere. That he should take it from the Vulgate is, to say the least, improbable ; but he may well have found

¹ These verbs have been investigated by J. B. Hofmann in a Greifswald dissertation (1910), *De verbis quae in prisca Latinitate exstant deponentibus* ; cf. also Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* 522 ; *Class. Quart.* VII. 9.

² There are of course a number of references to early authors even in Philoxenus as now preserved ; and in Cyrillus several quotations, e.g.

from Terence, have been preserved, pointing to Festus as the source, though these are not in the Paris MS. of Philoxenus.

³ This view is accepted by Professor W. M. Lindsay, *Textual Emendation*, p. 16.

⁴ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* XVII., pp. 389 sq. ; *ibid.* XXII., p. 380.

it in Du Cange or, failing that, in some earlier dictionary dating from the period of the Renaissance. The compiler of such a dictionary would draw on earlier compilations, which in turn had been put together mainly from glossaries.¹

The Philoxenus glossary contains an entry which has been ignored by all who have attempted to trace the history of this word. Gloss CE 23 appears in the sole early MS. of Philoxenus (saec. IX.) as

Celtis : ῥίνα ἰχθύος εἶδος,

but the Philoxenus glossary as now preserved contains but a portion of the material collected in the original version of this great bilingual dictionary. A number of items not found in the present Philoxenus can be recovered from the kindred Cyrillus glossary and other sources, as Lindsay has conclusively shown.² One of the commonest phenomena in the Philoxenus glossary is the fusion into one of two or more items which in the original dictionary were separate entries. Moreover, Bible glosses are fairly numerous in Philoxenus, as will be shown conclusively when the critical edition of the work, which is now in the press, has been published. We are therefore justified in seeing in the entry CE 23 a fusion of two glosses, which appeared in the parent glossary thus:

Celtis : ῥίνα,

Celtis (?) : ἰχθύος εἶδος,³

and we are further justified in assigning the first gloss to Job xix. 24. Furthermore, Lindsay surmised some years ago that the compiler of the original Philoxenus glossary used the Itala version of the Bible, and that this assumption was correct is proved by a comparison of all the Bible glosses in the present Philoxenus. In many cases the Latin lemma corresponds to the Vulgate word; but this causes no surprise, since Jerome incorporated a very great deal of Itala material in his translation. On the other hand, in a number of glosses, where the Bible attribution can be regarded as certain, the lemma word comes from the Itala, not from the Vulgate.

The occurrence of *celtis* in Philoxenus thus affords far earlier evidence for the genuineness, or at least the early acceptance of the word as genuine, than that furnished by MSS. of the Vulgate. For though the present Philoxenus is preserved in a MS. of the ninth century, the evidence of the Harleian MS. of Cyrillus (saec. VII.) and the Cologne papyrus fragment prove that the original or proto-Philoxenus was compiled not later than the sixth century.

The supposed derivation of the word from *caelare* is found in the fourteenth-century writer Guilelmus Britonus, but it must be remembered that the equation *e = ae* was already well established many centuries earlier, in Jerome's day.⁴ If then Jerome had found the word *celtis* in an earlier Bible text, he would naturally derive it from *caelare*. It seems impossible without further evidence to decide whether the word was ever genuine or whether it was already a 'ghost word' in the time of Jerome. But that he wrote *uel celte* in translating the passage from Job seems highly probable. For though, as Professor Burkitt has shown, the earlier MSS. mainly support the reading *uel certe*, the emendation of *celte* to *certe* is one that would be made very early in view of the rareness of the former word. And, once made, the emendation would hold the field for the most part against the earlier reading.

¹ On Bible glossaries compiled from the ninth century onwards, and on late medieval dictionaries; cf. Goetz, *C.G.L.* I. 217 sqq., 236 sqq.

² *Class. Rev.* XXXI. 188.

³ For the form of the second gloss we may compare AT 8 (Atharna : ἰχθύος εἶδος) and AQ 3 (Aquipenser : εἶδος ἰχθύος), the latter being a Festus gloss (cf. Paul. 20, 26). What the correct

form of the second lemma word was it is difficult to surmise.

⁴ The pertinent passage in Britonus, quoted in Du Cange (s.v. *celtis*), is: 'Celtis : instrumentum ferreum aptum ad scalpendum, cisel Gallice, dicitur a celando, sed nusquam est in Biblia, unde Iob 19 ubi quidam legunt,' etc.

REPOTIA.

- RE 169 Reoria : ἡ τρίτη τῶν [α]γάμων, ποδοστρόφια.
 187 Reperidia : ἐπιποδο (ἐπίβδα), ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ποδοστροφ[ε]ία.
 209 Reproca : ἐπίβδα, ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἐόρτη<ν>.

It is remarkable that, though there are no less than three glosses in Philoxenus explaining one and the same word, *repotia*, the lemma is in each case corrupt.

A comparison of the second with Porphyrius' brief note on Horace, *Sat.* II. 2, 60 (*R.* 'dicebatur dies post nuptias'), justifies us in regarding it as a Horace gloss, though the interpretation of glosses from this author in Philoxenus are more usually wholly or partly in Latin.

In ps.-Acro there are no less than five comments on the word, and of these the first and the third are particularly interesting for our purpose :

Repotia sunt quae Graeci dicunt ποδοστρόφια aut *mutuae inuitationes*.

R. dicuntur dies qui secuntur nuptias, quando *mutuis conuiujs* se frequenter inuitant.

Now the words here printed in italics suggest that ps.-Acro, or the earlier commentator whom he followed, was attempting to translate literally and account for the Greek word ποδοστρόφια, a word for which there appears to be no authority apart from the instances cited above. Festus, however (350, 13), drawing on Verrius Flaccus or an earlier source, clearly stresses the renewal of the carouse two days after the marriage, for he says, *Repotia postridie nuptias apud nouum maritum cenatur, quia quasi reficitur potatio*. The first gloss from Philoxenus, RE 169, is in all probability a shortened version of Festus. It would thus seem as if a Greek word had been coined—not very happily, it is true—to reproduce the essential meaning of *repotia*; and we should in fact read in both Philoxenus and ps.-Acro ποτοστρόφια. Admittedly it is a queer formation to bear the meaning 'a return to drinking,' but it is no stranger than ποδοστρόφια as an equivalent for *mutuae inuitationes*. The latter form, if it means anything, should signify 'feet-twisting,'¹ and if we are to retain it we must see in it a prophetic allusion to the results of *repotia*! The explanation in the Bobbio fragment (*Repotia* : λυσιπόδια), the contents of which are closely allied to Charisius, would lend support to ποδοστρόφια if there were any other authority for λυσιπόδια. As it is, it may itself be corrupt. The provenance of the third Philoxenus gloss is more doubtful. It is tempting to assign it to Apuleius (*Apol.* 59), but as there are no glosses in Philoxenus which can be assigned with certainty to this author, it is perhaps safer to see in RE 209 a split of RE 187, or an additional comment to that gloss by the compiler himself.

STLATTARIVS.

The Philoxenus glossary has preserved the following two glosses :

SI 32 Silatarus (stlattarius) : πλάνος.

ST 64 Stlactarius : ἐργόμωκος.

The former is assigned by Goetz to Juvenal (VII. 134) with reasonable probability; but the scholiast on Juvenal informs us with regard to *stlattaria*, 'Probus exponit illecebrosa,' while Valla on the same line cites a verse from Ennius (*Ann.* 240). On the other hand, in the exstant portion of Festus (410, 34) *stlatta* is derived from *latus*, 'broad.' Gloss ST 65, the neighbour of *stlactarius*, which reads,

Stlat<t>a : πειρατικοῦ σκάφους εἶδος,

¹ The dictionaries actually give ποδοστράβη snare or an instrument of torture. and ποδόστροφον in this literal sense, i.e. a foot-

is clearly a shortened form of Festus' explanation. Probus' comment, however, shows that he derived the word from *lacto*, equivalent to *illicio*, so that there were clearly two etymologies of the word current in antiquity.¹ The fact that *stlactarius* and *stlat*<*t*>*a* are neighbours in Philoxenus inclines one to the belief that the former, ST 64, was also a Festus gloss. For it is highly probable that the derivation given by Probus was also to be found in a lost portion of Festus; and there are many instances in Philoxenus where two explanations from the same or different passages in Festus have become separated, or where we can recover lost items from Festus by the help of the glossary.²

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

¹ The entry in the *Glossae Nominum* (S. : qui alium sermonibus errare facit) is merely an attempt to reproduce the Greek ἐργωμωκος in Latin; for *Gloss. Nom.* is largely (or wholly)

compiled from Philoxenus material.

² This question will be discussed more fully in the introduction to the edition of Philoxenus.

ANTIAE.

THE Dative or Ablative of this 'plurale tantum' (Charisius 33, 7 and 549, 1) was used by one of the earlier Republican writers. It is quoted by Ps.-Placidus (see *Journ. Phil.* 34, 254) from a MS. which had the marginal note 'capillis muliebribus ante, id est a fronte, pendentibus.' These marginal notes were often direct traditions from the earliest glossographi, the 'glossematum scriptores,' who provided material also for Varro and Verrius Flaccus, either directly or through the writings of earlier grammatici.

Now Verrius Flaccus discussed the word. For the recovery of his interpretation we are dependent upon the resuscitation of the lost item in his epitomator Festus. In Paulus' epitome of Festus we read (16, 3): 'Antiae muliebres capilli, demissi in frontem, appellati ex Graeco uidentur: quod enim nos contra, illi ἀντίον dicunt.' To supplement this meagre reproduction of Festus, we turn to an item (taken from this very paragraph of Festus) in the *Abolita* glossary. In *C.G.L.* IV. 17, 26 this item is wrongly presented. Goetz gives merely an apograph of the older of the two MSS. of *Abolita* and relegates to the *apparatus criticus* the reading of the younger. In the older MS. the *Abolita* item has been ousted by the *Abstrusa* item: 'Antiae: capilli quos mulieres in capite componunt' (*C.G.L.* IV. 18, 34), an item which has nothing to do with Festus, and may have come from a scholium (of Donatus?) on *Geo.* 2, 417 (*antes*). The younger MS. retains in part the *Abolita* interpretation: 'ab eo quod ante pendeant id est †antemne†.' With the help, however, of a glossary, which I am studying for Professor Lindsay, in *Vat. Lat.* 1469 foll. 162-223, we can get a better idea of the real original *Abolita* item which was taken from Festus. The item in this glossary reads: 'Antiae: capilli sunt ad tempora inmissi: dicti ab eo quod ante pendeant id est ante eant.'

The expression 'ad tempora' of *Abolita* invites comparison with the 'prope aurículas' of Isidore's interpretation (*Etym.* XIX. xxxi. 8): 'Antiae sunt cincinni dependentes prope aurículas: Graeco uocabulo ab auribus.' Both Isidore and *Abolita* regard 'antiae' as belonging to the region of the temples: the *Abolita* item is certainly to be referred to Festus (it occurs in a Festus batch): and as Festus material is common in Isidore, it is probable that his account too goes back to the same source. Paulus, however, refers 'antiae' to the brow ('ad frontem demissi') and gives a derivation (ἀντίον) to suit. Isidore attempts to give a derivation ('ab

auribus') consistent with his 'prope auriculas' interpretation, a derivation so weak that he seems to have misunderstood his source. *Abolita* adds to its 'ad tempora' explanation, a derivation ('ante') much more appropriate to an explanation 'ad frontem.' It may be that Verrius Flaccus received from the early glossographi two interpretations placing 'antiae' respectively at the brow and at the temples; and that he suggested two derivations, one of which, as reproduced by Festus, Isidore failed to grasp.

One of these old interpretations, as we have seen, has been preserved independently by Ps.-Placidus. The other is probably to be found in the Philoxenus Glossary (C.G.L. II. 21, 22). 'Antiae: κόμαι αἱ διὰ τῶν κροτάφων κρεμάμεναι γυναικεῖαι.' This item Philoxenus took, not from Festus, but from Charisius; and Charisius' material, like that of Ps.-Placidus, frequently comes from the early glossographi. The interpretation is identical with that in the Charisius excerpt preserved in the unique MS. Vienna 16, though this MS. has, by error, omitted the word γυναικεῖαι. This origin of the Philoxenus item is proved by its form in the Cyrillus Glossary (C.G.L. II. 352, 43), for the phrase 'singulare non habet' is there added, and in the Charisius excerpts the word appears in a list of 'pluralia tantum.'

For 'antiae,' therefore, we have (1) the explanations of the early glossographi reaching us through Ps.-Placidus and the Charisius excerpt; (2) similar explanations dealt with by Verrius Flaccus; (3) a third explanation, coming perhaps through a scholium on Vergil and eventually reaching *Abstrusa*. All the glosses (s.v.) in Goetz' *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* attach themselves to one or another of these lines of descent. The article in the great Latin Thesaurus requires rewriting now that these glossary threads can be disentangled; for the authors there quoted, Apuleius, Mart. Capella, and Tertullian, take their strange words from the glossaries of their period, and are not independent authorities for the meaning of 'antiae.'

We have seen that some early author of the Republican period used the case-form 'antiis' in the sense of 'women's ringlets.' There is a trace of the occurrence of the noun in another sense. The Cyrillus Glossary has a second item (C.G.L. II. 459, 56), which I print in its original form (i.e. reversed). 'Antiae: τρίχες αἱ μεταξὺ τῶν κεράτων τῶν βοῶν.' Since Festus- not Donatus-material is to be looked for in the bilingual (Greek and Latin) glossaries, we may find here an additional sentence of the Festus paragraph. Which was the original sense? Was it a word of woman's toilette? Or was it a cattle-farm word?

I have to thank Professor Lindsay for much help in the compilation of this article.

J. W. PIRIE.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

SOME FACTS ABOUT OUR OLDEST LATIN MANUSCRIPTS.

A FEW years ago Professor Souter made the suggestion that the curious custom of beginning each page of a MS., or each column of a page, with a large letter might be of African origin. He was struck with this feature while examining a fragment, newly acquired for the British Museum, of the celebrated Codex Palatinus of the Gospels (formerly at Vienna, MS. 1185, now at Trent), which is supposed to give us the African text of the New Testament.¹ In reply to the suggestion, the present writer submitted a list of eighteen MSS. in which this usage is illustrated.² As most of the MSS. are manifestly Italian, the African origin of the practice was shown to be untenable. Quite recently another theory has been put forward, localizing the practice within still narrower limits. According to Professor Weinberger, the use of a capital at the beginning of each page would seem to be a peculiarity of MSS. coming from Cassiodore's library at Vivarium; and he proceeded to use this feature as a touchstone for detecting *Codices Vivarienses*.³ Impressed by the unusual interest attaching to this feature, I began to assemble all the instances I had, and to look for others. I collected a list of nearly fifty items, an inspection of which showed me at once that in registering the phenomenon under discussion I had unwittingly drawn up a list of very ancient MSS. The list does not, to be sure, hold all our oldest MSS., but most of those it holds are, as will be seen, among the oldest. In other words, the use of a large letter at the beginning of each page is clearly a custom of very great antiquity. This being so, it seemed useful to interrogate these MSS. further, in order to ascertain what other practices they have of interest to palaeographers.

Most of our oldest Latin MSS., especially of the classics, have been carefully studied and minutely described in prefaces and special articles by scholars like Mommsen, Studemund, Ehrle, Hauler, Chatelain, Traube, and others. And equally great experts have given us exact details about the oldest MSS. of the Bible. But so far as I know, there exists no single study which collects, verifies, and correlates the palaeographical data imbedded in these various dissertations. While such a comprehensive study must still remain a desideratum, it may be serviceable to make an attempt, even of a tentative and partial kind, in the direction of bringing together some facts concerning our oldest Latin MSS. I therefore propose to examine this series of nearly fifty MSS., and to focus attention upon a few of the features they present. These are:

1. The use of a capital at the beginning of each page or column, irrespective of its position in the word or sentence.
2. The manner of indicating omitted *m* and *n* at the end of a line.
3. The use of running titles in the top margin.
4. The size and disposition of the written space.
5. The manner of signing quires.

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* XXIII. (1922), pp. 284 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 403.

³ W. Weinberger, 'Handschriften von Vivarium' in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, Vol. IV., pp. 77 sqq. (Rome, 1924). Here five new items are added to my list of eighteen; but my own notes on Pal. Lat. 1631 do not quite bear out

Professor Weinberger's observations. According to Mgr. Mercati, who was good enough to examine the MS. for me anew, the large letter is found only on a few pages. The rule is for pages to begin with the ordinary sized letter. The occasional use of the large letter may be taken as a hint that the Codex Palatinus is more recent than the Codex Vaticanus (No. 2 of our list).

A few remarks about the material examined will be needed by way of preface. Though the list of MSS. and fragments of MSS. illustrating the phenomenon which is the point of departure for this article can make no claim to exhaustiveness, it is probably fairly complete. For my notes on MSS. in Rustic capitals and uncial and half-uncial script cover, I believe, the great majority of such MSS. of which we have knowledge. Three of those in my list are known to me only through facsimiles: the Turin MSS. destroyed in the fire of 1904, the MS. from Petrograd, and the one from León. The others I have had in my hands, and was able to examine them with some care.¹ Certain palimpsests, owing to the use of reagents, are now very difficult to decipher. In such cases I have had to accept earlier results obtained by others who saw more and better. Other MSS. have suffered from the ravages of time or

¹ For various kind services in supplying me with new observations or verifying my own I am indebted to Mgr. Mercati, Mgr. Carusi, Professor D'Elia, Professor Schiaparelli, Profes-

sor Maleyn, and especially to Dom C. Mohlberg, who at a great cost of time carefully inspected a number of palimpsests for me.

* The asterisk indicates that the manuscript is palimpsest.

Italics are reserved for MSS. in which the initial large letter occurs sporadically, or is found regularly one part of the MS. and not in another.

Frag. (in the column marked 'Contents') indicates that the evidence for the use of the initial large letter

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>l</i> indicated by
1	Vatic. 3256 (St. Denis) + Berlin 2° 416	VIRGIL (<i>Frag.</i>)	Square capitals	Saec. V	Each page; huge capitals amounting to ornamental initials	—	—
2	Vatic. 3225 ...	VIRGIL	Rustic	IV	Each page	—	— (once f. 70)
3	Florence Laur. 39. 1 (Bobbio)	VIRGIL	Rustic	V Ante 494 A.D.	Many pages, but not all	—	—
4	Vatic. Palat. 1631 (Lorsch?)	VIRGIL	Rustic	V	Only a few pages	—	—
5	* Naples IV. A. 8 (Bobbio) + Naples s.n. (olim Vienna 16)	LUCAN (<i>Frag.</i>)	Very large Rustic	IV	Each page	—	—
6	* Vatic. 5750 (Bobbio)	PERSIUS-JUVENAL (<i>Frag.</i>)	Rustic	V	Each page	—	—
7	* Orleans 192 (Fleury) + Berlin 4° 364 + Regin. 1283B	SALLUST (<i>Frag.</i>)	Rustic	V	Each column	—	—
8	* Vatic Regin. 2077 ...	CICERO	Rustic	IV	Each column; the first letter only a trifle larger	—	—
9	* Turin A II. 2* (Bobbio)	CICERO (<i>Frag.</i>)	Rustic	IV	Each page	—	—
10	* Vatic. Palat. 24 ...	LIVY Book 91 (<i>Frag.</i>)	Rustic	V	First column regularly, but occasionally both columns	—	—
11	* Verona XL (38) (Luxeuil)	LIVY First decade	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—
12	Paris 5730 (Avellino)...	LIVY Third decade	Uncial	V	Many columns, but not all	—	—

the binder's shears, and having lost their margins, lack all, or nearly all, data as to quire marks, running titles, size of written space, or manner of indicating omitted *m* or *n*. In such cases the absence of data is indicated by dotted lines. It seemed instructive to have the facts presented in tabular form, as certain relations emerge from a table, which might otherwise remain unobserved. The order followed is roughly chronological by authors and scripts. Ten items are in square or Rustic capitals, thirty-six in uncials, and one in semi-uncial. The MSS. in Rustic (and square) capitals have been given precedence over those in uncial and half-uncial, simply because as a script Rustic writing is older than uncial. This does not, however, mean that all the MSS. in Rustic capitals are older than those in uncials. As a matter of fact there is ground for believing that several of those in Rustic capitals are not so old as the oldest uncial MSS. on the list. I have intentionally divided the twenty-six classical items from the twenty-one biblical and patristic ones, so as to bring out at a glance what extant MSS. of classic or Christian writers show the curious custom of the initial large letter on each page.

furnished by a fragment. The fragment may be typical of the whole MS., but it is, of course, possible that parts now lost did not show the practice in question. Quire marks are found, unless otherwise stated, in the lower right corner of the final page of the gathering.

<i>m</i> and <i>n</i> distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous Remarks.	No.
Yes	None	250 × 265 mm.	20	1	None occur on the extant folios	The MS. has the earliest known initials	1
No	Apparently Rustic capitals, only vestiges remain (teste Mohlberg)	160 × 160	21	1	Roman numerals (teste Mohlberg)	Rests of quire mark <i>iiii</i> are seen on f. 7 ^v . Rests of running title on f. 35 (LIB III), 71, 72	2
	In small Rustic capitals	170 × 120	29	1			3
		205 × 185	23	1			4
	In Rustic capitals	180 × 230	15	1	None occur in the extant fragment	I regard this script Rustic, not square capitals. The MS. has very wide margins	5
	In small Rustic capitals	170 × 155	26	1	.....	Final letter on the page is large	6
No	.....	180 × 180	21	2	.....		7
No	In small Rustic capitals	<i>Circa</i> 170 × 170	20	2	.....		8
No	In small Rustic capitals	<i>Circa</i> 150 × 140	13	1		Very wide margins	9
Yes	In small Rustic capitals (?)	140 × 105	30	2	.....	Words are divided at end of lines in the Greek style	10
	Small uncials	160 × 175	30	2	<i>q̄</i> xxxiii	A few pages have the last letter large	11
	Small uncials	170 × 175	26	2	Roman numeral preceded by a bracket.		12

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>a</i> indicated by
13	Vatic. 10696 ...	LIVY Fourth decade (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—
14	Vienna 15 (Lorsch) ...	LIVY Fifth decade	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—
15	* Vatic. 5757 (Bobbio)	CICERO <i>De Rep.</i>	Uncial	IV/V	Each column, but only on some pages	—	—
16	Vienna 1 ^a ...	PLINY Hist. Nat. (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each column	.....	.....
17	* Rome Vitt. Eman. 2099 (Sessor. 55) (Nonantola)	PLINY Hist. Nat.	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—
18	* St. Paul in Carinthia XXV. 2. 36 (olim XXV. a. 3)	PLINY Hist. Nat.	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
19	New York Morgan MS M462 (Meaux)	THE YOUNGER PLINY Epist.	Uncial	V/VI	Each page	—	—
20	* Vatic. 5750 (Bobbio) + Milan E 147 sup.	FRONTO	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—
21	* Paris 12161 (Corbie)	ASPER (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
22	Vienna I ...	ULPIAN (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
23	* Verona XV (13) ...	GAIUS	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
24	* Vatic. 5766 (Bobbio) + Turin A ii 2	FRAGM. ANTE-JUSTINIAN	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—
25	Florence Laur. s.n. ...	JUSTINIAN DIGESTS	Uncial	VI	Each page in part of the MS., even in Greek text	—	—
26	* Verona LXII (60) ...	FRAGM. CODICIS JUSTINIANI	Uncial	VI	Each column	—	—
27	Paris 17725 (Corbie) ...	GOSPELS Codex Corbeiensis	Uncial	V	Each column, with some exceptions	—	—
28	Naples s.n. (olim Vienna 1235)	GOSPELS Codex Purpureus	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
29	Trent s.n. (olim Vienna 1185)+ Dublin Trin. Coll. NN. IV. 18+Lon- don Add. MS. 40, 107	GOSPELS Codex Palatinus purpureus	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	—	—
30	* Vatic. 5763 (Bobbio) + Wolfenbüttel Weiss. 64	JOB Judges	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—
31	* Milan Ambros. C 73 inf. (Bobbio)	LUKE (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	—	—
32	* Paris 6400 G (Fleury)	ACTS AND APOCALYPSE (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each page	...	...

<i>m</i> and <i>n</i> distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous remarks.	No.
No	Small uncials	205 × 190	30	2	$\bar{q}$ xii		13
No	Small uncials	245 × 145	29	1	q xiiii		14
No	Small uncials	170 × 160	15	2	q xiii		15
	.....	.....	<i>Circa</i> 35	2	.....		16
			21				17
	Small Rustic capitals	145 × 80	26	1	q xii	Last letter is large on a number of pages	18
No	Small Rustic capitals	170 × 140	27	1			19
No	Small uncials	168 × 165	25	2	Roman numeral preceded by q		20
No	Small uncials	150 × 100	25	1	.....		21
	Small Rustic capitals			1			22
Yes, as a rule	None	235 × 195	24	1		Words are divided in Greek as well as in Latin style. Final letter is large on pp. 10, 13, 110, 134, 142, 195	23
No	Small uncials	190 × 185	32	1	Numerals		24
Yes	None	255 × 250	24	2	Numerals in left corner of first page of quire	Some pages end with a capital (ff. 122, 122 ^v , 126, etc). Words are divided in the Greek style	25
		240 × 200	50	2			26
No	Small uncials	170 × 170	24	2	Roman numerals with or without preceding q		27
No	Small uncials	<i>Circa</i> 140 × 140	14	1			28
No	Square capitals	<i>Circa</i> 215 × 180	20	2			29
No	.....	170 × 170	18	1	Roman numeral preceded by q		30
No	Small uncials	180 × 180	26	2			31
	.....	195 × 190	23	1	.....		32

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>n</i> indicated by
33	Paris Gr. 107 ...	EPIST. S. PAULI Codex Claromontanus	Uncial	V/VI	Each page between ff. 1-70 ^r with lapses on ff. 46-51	—	
34	* Naples s.n. (Bobbio) (olim Vienna 16)	APOCR. EPIST. APOST. (Frag.)	Uncial	V		—	
35	* Leon Cathedr. 15 ...	OLD TESTAMENT	Half Uncial	VII	Each column	—	
36	Paris 10592 (Lyons) ...	CYPRIAN	Uncial	V ex.	Each column on ff. 1-8 ^r , 148-155 ^v	—	—
37	St. Gall. 213 ..	LACTANTIUS	Uncial	V	Each page		
38	Verona XIII (11) ...	HILAR. ON PSALMS	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	— or —	— or —
39	St. Paul in Carinthia XXV 3. 19	AMBROSE	Uncial	VI in.	Each column on ff. 39-93 ^r	—	—
40	Würzburg Th. q 2 ...	HIERONYMUS ON ECCLESIASTES	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—
41	Verona XVII (15) ...	HIERONYMUS EPISTLES	Uncial	VI ex.	Each page, in part of the MS.	—	—
42	Verona XXVIII (26) ...	AUGUSTINE CIV. DEI	Uncial	V in.	Each page	—	—
43	Petrograd Q. v. I. 3 (Corbie)	AUGUSTINE	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—
44	Paris 12634 (Corbie) ...	AUGUSTINE REGULA	Uncial	VI/VII in.	Many pages	—	—
45	* Vatic. 5766 (Bobbio)	CASSIAN	Uncial	VIII	Most pages, but not all	—	—
46	Verona LI (49) ...	MAXIMUS TAURIN.	Uncial	VI in.	Most pages	—	—
47	St. Gall 912 ...	GLOSSARY	Uncial	VIII in.	Many pages between pp. 1-71		

I.

(a) THE LARGE LETTER AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH PAGE.

It is hardly necessary to insist on the great antiquity of this practice. It has not escaped the attention of scholars.¹ A glance at the above list shows that twenty-one of the forty-seven MSS. enumerated are palimpsests (the examples being furnished, of course, by the primary script); that ten items are in *scriptura capitalis*, this number forming a third of all the extant MSS. in capitals known to us. That all ten of these contain classic authors is what we should expect. The fact that the

¹ E.g. Mommsen, Jordan, Studemund, Hauler, Traube, and Vattasso remark upon it in their discussions of Vatic. 5766, Palat. 24, Regin. 1283, Verona XL., Verona XV., Rome, Sessor. 55, Bamberg and Lateran Livy Fragments (cf. *Abhandl. der berlin. Akad.*, 1859, pp. 384-5; 1868,

pp. 31-206, 207-215; 1869, p. 162; Hermes V., 1871, p. 399; *Gai Instit. Commentarii*, 1874; *Comment. Wolfianianae*, 1896, p. 309; *Palaeographische Forschungen IV.*, *Abh. der kgl. bayerisch. Akad.* XXIV., Bd. I., 1904, p. 27; *Studi e Testi XVIII.*, p. 4).

m and n distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous remarks.	No.
No	Small uncials	150×140	21	1	None	Here and there lines end with large letters.	33
	Small uncials (visible traces)		18	2			34
				2			35
No	Small uncials	170×155	25	2	By letter (ff. 9 to 147 ^r)	The leaves which have the initial large letter are independent of the body of the MS.	36
	Small uncial		31	1			37
No	Small uncials	260×175	26	2			38
Yes	Small uncials	175×170	21	2	Roman numerals		39
Yes		180×170	25	1			40
Yes	Small uncials (on certain pages, but after folio 270 on every page)	<i>Circa</i> 205×185	20	1	Roman numerals		41
No	None	195×120	30	1	Roman numerals preceded by q		42
No	None	210×190	28	2	Roman numerals		43
Yes	None	180×130	26 and 20 (ff. 85 to 165)	1	Roman numeral preceded by q		44
No	Uncial	225×130	35	1	Numeral in lower left corner (89 ^r)		45
No	None	<i>Circa</i> 220×165	25	1	Roman numeral preceded by q		46
		120×95	14	2			47

majority of the MSS. in the list contain classical authors and date for the most part from the fifth century, confirms the antiquity of the practice and suggests that its origin was pagan.¹

Thus the antiquity of the practice is beyond reasonable doubt; but the time and manner of its inception can only be the subject of surmise. It is absent, so far as I know, from extant papyrus rolls. As for the purpose it served, that, obviously, could only be ornamental, since the use of a capital in the middle of a word can have no other significance. And these two statements, taken together, seem to me to throw out a hint that the practice was born about the time when the literary treasures of the past began to be transferred from papyrus roll to vellum codex—that is, during the fourth century. A papyrus roll was to the scribe no more than a monotonous succession of columns, which did not lend themselves to the idea of embellishment;

¹ It is a curious fact that all the oldest MSS. of Livy exemplify the practice. The absence of the Bambergensis from our list is due to the absence of the necessary data, the beginnings of the pages having been lost.

the codex differed from the roll chiefly in that it was possible to have a book conveniently open at any desired page. Thus the page became the unit, and derived an individuality denied to the columns of the roll. Perhaps the large initial represents the scribe's first recognition of this fact, and his dawning impulse to lend a touch of beauty to his page.

An important characteristic of the initial large letter is, that it is contained within the space allotted for writing, differing thus from the capital used to mark the beginning of a paragraph, which normally projects into the margin. When we find, in the famous MS. of Virgil, in square capitals, Vatic. 3256 (No. 1 of our list), each page beginning with a capital not strictly contained within the limits of the written space, we may take this fact as evidence of the relatively more recent date of the MS.—an ascription borne out by its practice of distinguishing between omitted *m* and omitted *n* at the end of lines (see below). And when we notice that these large capitals in the Virgil MS. have ornamental elements—they are in fact the earliest ornamental initials known to us—we may fairly conclude that we have here a natural development of the practice of putting a single large capital at the beginning of each page.

If we cannot say with any precision when the practice in question began, there is evidence that it started to lose ground as early as the fifth century. This hypothesis alone accounts for the irregular use of the initial capital in such MSS. as the Codex Mediceus (No. 3) and Codex Palatinus (No. 4) of Virgil, the famous Codex Puteanus of Livy (No. 12). When we meet with the same irregularity in the Cicero palimpsest (No. 15) and in the Palatine fragment of Livy (No. 10), it is probably for the same reason. Although the last MS. has two columns on a page, only one out of the four extant pages has a capital at the beginning of both columns, the others only at the top of the first column. The facts that a distinction is made between omitted *m* and *n* at the end of lines, and that the method of syllabification is Greek, also indicate that the MS. is of the fifth century rather than earlier. And when, in the Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles, we find the use of the initial capital in the first seventy folios and not in the rest of the MS., though it was all written by the same scribe, we may feel assured that we are no longer in the presence of a regular scribal practice, but rather of a belated survival. It may easily be that these seventy folios went back to an archetype showing this feature. That the Claromontanus has a composite character is sufficiently proved by the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, Professor Clark tells me, is linguistically quite unlike the rest of the Epistles. A graphic proof of this difference is furnished by the use of ordinary ink in the citations which occur in this Epistle, whereas red ink is used in citations occurring in the rest of the MS.

Manuscripts in which one scribe uses the initial capital and another does not probably belong to the transition period. The use of the initial capital by one or more scribes of the Florentine Digests I am inclined to regard as a survival of the practice outside of Italy—if I am right in thinking the MS. has a Byzantine origin. As a curiosity I may mention that it is even used in the Greek text.

The occurrence of the initial capital on certain folios of the Cyprian MS. (No. 36) is explained by the fact that those leaves (they are at the front and the back of the MS.) come from an altogether different MS. from the rest of the codex, and represent an older scribal tradition. The bulk of the MS. I am inclined to regard as a product of the school of Lyons, and regret that it was not included in the collection of the oldest Lyons MSS. just published.¹ The MS. has the familiar annotations attributed to Florus.

A custom of this kind does not die out everywhere at the same time; and the

¹ E. A. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi*: Lyons, 1924.
La plus ancienne École calligraphique de France,

presence of the feature in a seventh-century half-uncial MS. from Spain (No. 35) is instructive as bearing testimony to the way in which ancient Italian scribal usage survived in the lands on the periphery of the Empire. Again, there would always be slavishly-copying scribes to reproduce the feature unreflectingly ages after it had actually ceased to be the regular practice. Thus its presence in the eighth-century MS. of Cassian (No. 45) or in an eighth-century glossary (No. 47) suggests that the archetypes of these MSS. probably date from the fifth or sixth century.¹

Finally, as for the suggestion that the school of Vivarium is the home of the practice of using a larger letter at the beginning of each page, this much may be said: if there is any truth in the supposition, then practically all the MSS. in our list come from Vivarium. But this conclusion is on the face of it improbable, not to say absurd, and, so far as evidence goes, quite unsupported by facts at our command. The valid conclusions to be drawn from a consideration of our list are that the practice in question is of Italian origin, and that it is of great antiquity. But despite the fact that the practice cannot be narrowly localized it has more than antiquarian interest, since it may be useful in giving a hint of the date, origin, or archetype of a MS. which illustrates the practice. That the practice was known to the best calligraphers of the fourth and fifth centuries may be gathered from the fact that it is found in *éditions de luxe*, as witness the *Codices purpurei* of the Bible, and the magnificent MSS. of the Latin classics, with the sumptuous margins, contained in our list (Nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, 28, 29).

(b) USE OF A LARGE LETTER AT THE END OF A PAGE.

The use of the initial letter at the head of a page or column has a curious corollary in the use of a large letter at the end of page or column as well. Instances are found in Nos. 6, 11, 18, and 23. In the Codex Claromontanus (No. 33) the letters *c*, *e*, *o*, *r*, and *s* at the end of lines are occasionally written large.

II.

OMISSION OF *m* AND *n* AT END OF LINE.

In describing the fifth-century Fleury fragments of Jerome's *Chronicle*, Traube made the correct observation that the practice of marking omitted *n* at the end of a line is not so old as the practice of marking omitted *m*; and that the distinction between omitted *m* and omitted *n* is still more recent.² The evidence furnished by the oldest MSS. in our list completely and fully confirms his observations. I am so much convinced of the validity of this text that I do not hesitate to apply it as corroborative evidence in the cases of the Vatican Virgil in square capitals (No. 1)

¹ To the examples in my list may be added a few others that have since come to my notice: (1) Vienna 563 is palimpsest. The primary script, in fifth-century uncials, contains the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. Here most pages, though not all, begin with a larger letter. (2) The practice is illustrated in the vellum fragment of Genesis from Egypt (*Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1073, Vol. VIII., pl. VI.), if the extant leaf may be taken as typical. (3) In Paris 12205, containing St. Augustine in seventh-century uncials, one scribe begins each page with an ordinary letter (this scribe uses the curious *g* with the split tail), while another scribe regularly has a large letter (foll. 77 sqq. and 143-157). The latter is either reproducing an ancient original slavishly, or he

is clinging to a custom long since become obsolete. (4) In Vatic. Ottob. 319, another seventh-century uncial MS. of St. Augustine, we get echoes of the custom, for here and there the scribe indulges in a large letter at the beginning of the page, which he doubtless takes over unthinkingly from his original.

² L. Traube, *Hieronymi chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta*, etc., p. vi (= *Codd. Gr. et Lat. photogr. depicti*. Suppl. Vol. I., Leyden, 1902). Some statistics of the omission of *m* and *n* will be found in Traube's *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 179, 181, 183, 185. But my own observations do not always agree with his. Where divergencies occur I have verified the facts set down in the table.

and the Palatine fragment of Livy in Rustic capitals (No. 10), and to assign them to the fifth rather than to an earlier century. By the same token the Gaius of Verona (No. 23) cannot be older than the fifth century. When omitted *m* and *n* are differentiated: the *m* is indicated by a stroke over a dot, the *n* by the simple stroke. Noteworthy is the nuance employed by the scribe of Würzburg th. q. 2 (No. 40), his *m*-stroke turning up at the left and down at the right, while the *n*-stroke turns up at the right end. Normally in our oldest MSS. the stroke for omitted *m* and *n* follows the vowel, and is strictly confined to the end of lines.

III.

RUNNING TITLES.

The importance of collecting data on the use of running titles was first pointed out by Karl Dziatzko in his *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 178 sqq. In this work he made the interesting suggestion that the presence or absence of running titles could be used as a test for dating the oldest Latin MSS. He pointed out that running titles did not exist in papyrus rolls; that they are first found in vellum codices, and that even in codices their use could hardly have been general at the end of the fourth century, for in a letter of St. Augustine to St. Jerome, written in 397, the former complains that he was unable to tell the name of a work of St. Jerome's he had just received because it lacked a front title. From this it would follow that MSS. with running titles by first hand cannot, roughly speaking, go much back of the fifth century.¹ In other words, the presence of running titles, provided they are not later additions, furnishes an approximate *terminus post quem*. This view seems sound, and should command universal agreement. But when Dziatzko makes the statement (p. 183) that MSS. lacking running titles must be older than MSS. which possess them (by first hand) he goes too far. His position seems to me to be open to criticism on both general and specific grounds. In the first place, it is never safe to draw conclusions as to dates from the absence of this or that given feature, since the absence may be accounted for on other grounds. It is the positive and not the negative fact that is decisive in such questions. In the second place, the data on which Dziatzko built his theory and based his classification were unreliable. It is almost impossible to conduct fruitful palaeographical investigations of this type if one is limited to the use of facsimiles. I venture to think that Dziatzko's whole discussion would have followed different lines had he been able to consult the MSS. themselves. He would also in that case have been far more cautious in the application of his test, and his classification of the oldest MSS. would have been very different.²

The few facts to be gleaned from an examination of our list are as follows:

- (1) Nearly all the MSS. show running titles.
- (2) These titles are usually written by the scribe or a contemporary hand.
- (3) They are usually in the same type of script as the text, though somewhat smaller.
- (4) The use of a different type of script in the title first appears in MSS. of the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century (Nos. 18, 19, 22).

¹ This may throw some light on the date of the Gospel Harmony which fell into the hands of Victor Bishop of Capua (†554). It had neither running titles nor front title, as we learn from the opening words of his preface to his Harmony: 'Dum fortuito in manus meas incideret unum ex quattuor evangelium compositum, et absente titulo, non inuenirem nomen auctoris,' etc.

Migne, *Patrologia Latina* LXVIII., col. 251.

² Mgr. M. Vattasso expresses a similar criticism when he says that Dziatzko's discussion is not exhaustive, and that the whole question merits going into again (*Studi e Testi* XVIII. (1906), p. 4, where the Lateran Livy fragments are discussed).

Running titles are lacking in three out of the ten items in capitals. In one of the ten it is no longer possible to say whether they were there or not. In six cases their presence is clear. In the oldest uncial MSS. in the list their presence is the rule, their absence the exception. If Dziatzko's test held good, then the absence of the titles in *Vatic. 3256* (No. 1) would be a sign that it is older than the other MSS. in Rustic capitals which show the titles. But if this is so, then the *Laurentian Digests* of the sixth century and other manifestly sixth-century MSS. (Nos. 25, 44, and 46), because they lack the titles, are also older than all the MSS. in uncials and Rustic capitals which show them, which is on the face of it absurd.

IV.

SIZE AND DISPOSITION OF PAGE.

It is open to question whether statistics on the size of page and number of columns in a page, considering that they are furnished by so small a list of MSS., are susceptible of any scientific interpretation. But a résumé of the facts is perhaps not without interest. Our table seems to indicate that two columns were preferred to long lines in the oldest MSS. That all the works in verse were written in long lines and not in two columns requires no special explanation, and accounts for long lines in six out of the ten items in capitals. Of the remaining four MSS., which contain prose works, only one is in long lines. The evidence of the uncial MSS. seems to point in the same direction. Of the four very ancient MSS. of *Livy* in our list only one is written in long lines. I may mention in passing that the *Bamberg fragments of Livy* in uncials of the fifth (or outgoing fourth) century show three columns to the page.¹ The oldest MS. of the *Gospels* in our list (No. 27) is written in two columns. And the same is true of the *Codex Vercellensis* (not in our list), which is probably of the end of the fourth century. This tendency was probably more marked during the period when papyrus rolls were being replaced by vellum codices. Since a copy normally tends to reproduce its exemplar, it is clear that the nearer we approach the period when the roll was being replaced by the codex the more frequent would be the MSS. written in more than one column.

As to the size of the written spaces, the figures in our table go to confirm an observation made long ago by scholars—namely, that the oldest MSS. show a tendency to use the square format. It is almost hopeless to try to deduce any general observations from the present size of pages, since in most MSS. the margins have been cut away, in some cases more, in some less. But the written space has remained what it was, and lends itself to exact tabulation. I am not prepared to vouch for the absolute accuracy of my data, but I think the measurements fairly correct. It will be seen that thirteen MSS. in the list have a written space that is practically a perfect square (Nos. 2, 7, 8, 12, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 39), and in the case of ten MSS. the space is almost square (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 33, 36, 40). If we consider only the length of the written space, seventeen centimetres or thereabouts seems to be the most popular length.

Our statistics dealing with the number of lines on a page permit of no generalizations. Six MSS. have 26 lines, 5 have 25, 5 have 21, 4 have 30, 3 have 24, and 4 have 20 lines. One very ancient MS. (No. 9) has as few as 13 lines, another (No. 15) has 15. But the small number is no indication of age. For the eighth-century glossary from *St. Gall* (No. 47) has no more than 14 lines.

¹ See above, p. 203, n. 1.

V.

QUIRE SIGNATURES.

Our table confirms the observation that ancient Latin MSS. have their gatherings signed in the lower right-hand corner of the last page of each quire. This is true of all but one MS. in our list. The exception is the Florentine Codex of the Digests, in which the signatures are found on the first page of the quire, in the lower left-hand corner. But this MS. does not reflect pure Latin tradition, and is unusual in more than one respect. The usual way of signing is by Roman numerals. Only one MS. in the list (No. 36) uses letters instead of numerals. This departure from the customary may be due to its being a provincial product.¹ The Roman numeral is as a rule preceded by the letter *q*, standing for *quaternio*, the abbreviation being indicated either by an oblique stroke through the shaft of the *q*, or a horizontal stroke over it, or by a mere dot after it.

It will be interesting to see to what extent the above observations will be confirmed by further investigation of the oldest Latin MSS.

E. A. LOWE.

OXFORD.

¹ The quire-marks are found between foll. 9 and 147^v, the part of the MS. which was probably written at Lyons. Foll. 1-8 and 148-155 come from a different MS.

ETYMOLOGIES.

Οἶλος.

The adjective οἶλος is used very frequently by Theophrastus in his *History of Plants*. The English word 'curly' may be accepted as its equivalent in phrases like 'curly leaves' or 'curly roots'; but there is something not quite so natural in an expression like 'curly wood,' as when Theophrastus says (*H.P.* III. 11. 3) that the ζυγία (which is a variety of maple-tree) ἔχει τὸ ξύλον ξανθὸν καὶ οἶλον, 'has yellow and curly wood.' Sir Arthur Hort has accordingly translated it in many passages by the word 'close-grained,' and this not only gives a permissible sense in a large number of passages, but seems to be the only one which yields a good sense in III. 11. 3, where Theophrastus says 'there are two kinds of ash. Of these one is lofty and of strong growth, with white wood of good fibre, softer, with fewer knots, and of more compact texture (τὸ ξύλον ἔχουσα οὐλότερον).' Schneider, who recognized only the sense 'curly,' felt the absurdity of saying 'with fewer knots and curlier, and he therefore proposed to substitute ἀνουλότερον (comparative of ἀνουλος, a word which does not occur anywhere in Greek literature). The difficulty vanishes if Sir Arthur Hort's rendering is accepted.

Similarly, it seems most natural in Theophrastus, *H.P.* V. 2. 3, to translate οὐλότης not by 'curling,' but by 'closeness of grain.' Theophrastus is describing an abnormal growth of trees known as 'coiling' (σπειραι), and he says: 'Coiling of the wood is also due to winter or to ill-nourishment. Wood is said to "coil" when there is in it closer συστροφή than usual, made up of an unusual number of rings. This is not quite like a knot, nor is it like ἡ οὐλότης ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ξύλῳ· δι' ὅλου γάρ πως αὕτη καὶ ὁμαλίζουσα, i.e. 'nor is it like the ordinary οὐλότης of the wood, which runs right through it and is uniform.' Here, it seems to me, οὐλότης means the closeness of the grain, since this alone can truly be said to be uniform and to run right through the wood—i.e. right up the trunk from the base to the top. Theo-

phrastus is contrasting with this uniform grain an abnormal state of affairs, in which the grain becomes closer in one part of the trunk than in the rest.

There is also a passage in the work of Philo, the engineer, on the manufacture of war-engines. Talking of the choice of wood for the manufacture of the outer shell of part of a war-engine, he says that if you care for the appearance of the thing you must choose οἶλα ξύλα. Mr. F. W. Hall, who drew attention to the passage in a note which he contributed to Liddell and Scott, pointed out that οἶλα cannot mean 'twisted,' but must refer to wood of the finest quality. Here also it means 'close-grained'; and this, I suppose, is the opinion of Diels and Schramm, who in their recent German translation have rendered it 'feste Hölzer.'

If these conclusions are accepted, it becomes possible to throw light on a number of other passages which have, I think, hitherto been wrongly translated. I will begin with the simplest case: it is a passage of Plutarch II. 510 sq. This passage is quoted in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott, and is there said to have reference to singing. The words are οἶλα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ συνεστραμμένα φθεγγομένους. They are not actually translated, but from the arrangement of the article it is clear that they are thought to refer to the ornate, complicated, or florid character of the song sung, and to involve a metaphorical application of the sense 'twisted,' 'curly,' 'winding.' In reality the passage does not refer to singing, but is a description of taciturn people, those whose speech expresses a great deal of meaning packed into very few words (ὧν πολλὸς νοῦς ἐν ὀλίγῃ λέξει συνέσταλται). It seems clear that οἶλος is here simply a synonym of πυκνός, in the sense of 'closely packed together,' and that this is a metaphorical application of the use which we have seen in Theophrastus and in Philo's *Belopoeica*.

Along with this Plutarch passage Liddell and Scott have grouped three passages of Callimachus, in which they suppose that οἶλος is applied to dancing or similar movements, and means 'mazy.' The first of these is *Dian.* (hymn 3) 247:

αἱ δὲ πόδεσσιν
οἶλα κατεκροτάλιζον, ἐπεισόφειον δὲ φαρέτραι.

This is supposed to mean 'they beat with their feet a mazy or complicated dance . . .,' οἶλος being used in a metaphorical application of the sense 'twisted.'

The second passage is *Iou.* (hymn 1) 52: οἶλα δὲ Κούρητές σε περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο τεύχεα πεπλήγοντες. 'And . . . round thee danced the Curetes a war dance, beating their armour.'

The third is *Epigr.* 5 (6), in which the speaker is a nautilus shell, κόγχος: Κόγχος ἐγὼ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαίτερος. He is describing his methods of propulsion through the water, and he says that when winds were blowing he used to hoist a sail composed of membrane, and when it was calm he used to row with his feet: εἰ δὲ γαληναίη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οἶλος ἐρέσσω ποσσὶ νιν . . .

It has been thought that we have here a special application of that sense of οἶλος in which it means 'whole,' and is the Ionic form of ὅλος, and that from meaning 'whole' it can come to mean 'hale' or 'vigorous.' For this, however, there seems to be no evidence. ὅλος and its dialect form οἶλος can only mean 'whole' in the ordinary sense of the English word 'whole.'

In all these three passages the word οἶλος denotes an action which involves frequent repetition. We have, in fact, a metaphorical transference of οἶλος, 'closely packed,' from the sphere of space to that of time, such as may be observed also in the case of the synonymous word πυκνός, and also in Latin *creber*.

If this be admitted, it next becomes possible to propose a new interpretation of a passage in Homer, viz. *Il.* XVII. 756: 'And a cloud of them darts up like a cloud

of starlings or of daws, οὔλον κεκλήγοντες, whenever they see a kite coming—a kite which brings death to little birds'; and in line 759: 'so the Achaean warriors, pursued by Aeneas and Hector, fled, οὔλον κεκλήγοντες, and forgot the battle.' It has been thought, both in ancient and in modern times, that οὔλον here means 'deadly,' as in the phrase οὔλος Ἀρης, 'deadly Ares'; but the expression 'to utter a deadly cry' is not a probable way of saying 'to utter a cry as of one about to perish,' a deathly cry; and it cannot be shown that οὔλος ever means 'deathly.' In other words, the parallel with οὔλος Ἀρης is not exact. Another ancient interpretation (Sch. D.) is that it means ὀξύ βοῶντες καὶ πυκνόν; and this I think is correct, or at any rate includes the truth. The little birds are thought of by the scholiast as uttering *shrill and oft-repeated* cries. But which of these is the meaning of οὔλον? οὔλον κεκλήγοντες in itself means 'uttering oft-repeated cries'; the cries were no doubt shrill, but the poet does not say so. The scholiast would have been exactly right if he had omitted ὀξύ and left πυκνόν as the meaning of οὔλον. Eustathius¹ has an interpretation which is essentially the same as that of the scholiast already quoted: he says the meaning is συνεστραμμένον καὶ ὀξύ. As we have already said, ὀξύ is not the meaning or even part of it; but συνεστραμμένον is exactly right, because one of its meanings is 'compact': ξύλα συνεστραμμένα in Theophrastus, *H.P.* III. 11. 2, means 'close-grained' wood, exactly like ξύλα οὔλα; and the συστροφαί are the concentric rings which together constitute the grain. It seems probable that οὔλος = πυκνός is connected with ἐλλω, 'pack tightly together.'

Since I wrote this note my attention has been called to the fact that οὔλος in some of its senses is connected with εἶλλω by the Modern Greek *Lexikon* of Skarlati-Byzantius, published at Athens in 1839.

Σείω.

In the well-known passage of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus and his companions are engaged in putting out the Cyclops' eye, the poet describes how they planted the stake in his eye, and then by means of a leather thong caused it to spin round:

ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐρεισθεὶς
δίνεον, ὥς ὅτε τις τρυπῶ δόρυ νήμιον ἀνήρ
τρυπάνῳ, οἱ δέ τ' ἔνερθεν ὑποσσείουσιν ἱμάντι
ἀψάμενοι ἐκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἐμμένεος αἰεί.

(IX. 384-6.)

'And I, leaning on the top of it, spun round, as when a man drills a ship's timber with a drill, and the others spin it round below, attaching a thong, and it spins unceasingly.'

It is clear that ὑποσσείουσιν means 'they spin or twist round below,' and this meaning is admitted by everybody; but it is less clear how a compound of σείω with ὑπο- can have such a meaning. Σείω does not mean 'spin,' but 'shake,' and the stake was certainly not 'shaken' in the eye of the Cyclops.

The Skt. *cyāvati*, 'set in rapid motion,' would appear in Greek in the form *σέφω, with an aorist ἔσσενα. If the third plural σέφουσιν have ὑπο- prefixed to it, the resulting ὑποσσεφουσιν is metrically impossible for hexameter verse. But according to the known principles of metrical lengthening it can be got into a hexameter by the artificial lengthening of the syllable σε- to σει-. This σει- in ὑποσσείουσιν has thus only a superficial resemblance to the σει- in σείω, 'I shake,' which cannot be the result of a purely metrical lengthening, as it is also found in prose.

R. MCKENZIE.

² 1171. 8, cf. Sch. II., *l.c.*, Vol. VI., p. 241, Maass.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XLV. 4. October-December, 1924.

R. B. Steele, *Lucan's Pharsalia*. Steele first discusses the use made by Lucan of his predecessors, and then estimates his influence on subsequent literature, giving examples to illustrate his most attractive qualities. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Doctrine of Caesura, a Philological Ghost*. S. seeks to discredit all theories, both ancient and modern, of the real purpose and effect of the caesura, which can be explained by neither the theory of rhythmic cola nor theories of the origin of Greek verse forms, nor the notion that word-ends are either audible or psychologically prominent. W. Rhys Roberts, *Notes on Aristotle's Rhetoric*. The article deals with the following passages: the opening chapters as a preface; 1354a 13, αἱ πίστεις as a technical term; 1355a, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἶπομεν as raising the questions of the Greek use of 'author's plural' and the value of the *Vetusta translatio*; the reading of 1356a 30, 31 (ὁμοία with Λc for the vulgate ὁμοίωμα); 1357a 13-17, the qualifications in the description of the enthymeme; 1358a 23, the support given to the βέλτιον of the inferior MSS. by the *melius* of the *Vetusta*; 1354b 32, a suggestion that ἀνὰ λαβεῖν was taken to mean 'step by step' (*per singula captare*); 1368a 25, a defence of *insinuare* as a rendering of μηνύειν; 1365b 16, 19, the doubtful meaning attached by the translator to ἀγαπητόν; 1395a 3, a suggestion that this passage, the one case in which πρεσβύτεροι is rendered *seniores*, and not as elsewhere *senes*, shows that the use of the comparative is intended to suggest a 'distinction of worth and dignity'; it is, however, admitted that the suggestion is not borne out by such passages as 1384a 34, 1385b 25, and 1413b 1; 1359b 9-16, a protest against the translation 'and not mere words' for ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον λόγων. Kemp Malone, *Ptolemy's Scandia*. M. suggests that the *Suiones* (Swedes) missing from Ptolemy's tribal list for Scandia were included by him among the tribes belonging to the south-east coast of the Baltic (reading Σονίῳνες for Σούλωνες); examines the tribal names actually recorded by him for Scandia, and suggests that, like Pliny, but unlike Tacitus, he derived his knowledge of the country from a Western source. L. A. Post, *A Supposed Historical Discrepancy in the Platonic Epistles*. Post argues for the genuineness of the eighth epistle by suggesting that the son of Dion, who is mentioned in 355e as a possible king of Syracuse, is not Hipparinus-Aretaeus (who committed suicide before his father's death), but the unnamed posthumous son who was born in prison, released in 352 by Dion's nephew Hipparinus, and finally murdered in 350 at the age of three. A. C. Nutting, *The Indefinite First Singular*. Gives examples, both from prose and verse, of a perfectly indefinite *ego* introduced merely as a foil to an indefinite *tu*, and compares the usage to the colloquial use of *meum* and *tuum*; adds further instances where *ego* is used indefinitely without a balancing *tu*.

XLVI. 1. January-March, 1925.

A. L. Wheeler, *Topics from the Life of Ovid*. With numerous illustrative quotations, chiefly from the poet himself, but also from the Elder Seneca, deals with the following subjects: birthplace, name, and race; schooldays and early poetic career; experience in the rhetorical schools; first public reading; relations with other poets, especially Tibullus; foreign travel and official career; domestic relations and marriages. A. H. Sayce, *The Decipherment of the Lydian Language*. Gives details of the gradual building up of a knowledge of the Lydian alphabet, discusses

the formation of the various parts of speech, and adds the text of five inscriptions (numbered 23, 24, 14, 13, 10), complete with interlinear translation and notes. Concludes that, while Lydian is allied to the Hittite of Boghaz Keui, it has no genetic relationship with Etruscan. G. T. Flom, *Scandinavian Philology*. A general survey of the work recently accomplished in such departments as the study of the runes, lexicography, and the study of place-names. Tenney Frank, *Horace's Description of a Scene in Lucilius*. T. Frank suggests that the *comis et urbanus* of *Sat.* IV. 90, when compared with the similar phrase in I. 64, suggests that the unnamed opponent is Cato and the person discussed Lucilius, and infers that the preceding lines describing a banquet are from Lucilius, who often dealt with such scenes. W. P. Mustard, *On Tacitus*, Agricola 44. 5. M. suggests that in the phrase *festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit euasisse postremum illud tempus*, etc., the infinitive clause should be regarded as explanatory of *solacium*, and that parallels, such as Ovid, *Met.* I. 191, Lucan VIII. 314 sqq., and Statius, *Silvae* II. v. 24 sqq., show that the meaning of *tulit* may be 'took with him' (to other spheres), instead of merely 'won.'

XLVI. 2. April-June, 1925.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics*. H. seeks to show that the story of the fate of Lycambes and his daughters is a reflection of a genuine belief in the power of the injured to work harm by their words, and that Archilochus' poems are akin on one side to the legendary *βουζύγιοι ἀπαί* and the *defixiones*, and on the other to such literary 'curses' as the *Ibis* of Callimachus, and concludes with parallels from Irish and Arabic literature. W. Petersen, *The Adnominal Genitive*. P. argues that the extremely wide and vague adnominal genitive must be derived from an original uninflected genitive, which suggested relationship between nouns by means of mere collocation, and which passed on all its uses to the inflected genitives. Lily R. Taylor, *Horace's Equestrian Career*. Argues, in the light of such passages as *Sat.* II. 7, 53-55 and 107-110, that Horace ranked through life as an *Eques* in virtue of his military tribunate and his connexion with the *scribae*, but that, like Maecenas, he definitely refused to seek office. K. Malone, *The Suiones of Tacitus*. States that the *Germania* correctly places the Swedes on islands in the Baltic (*ipso in Oceano*), and relates them ethnically with the Eastern Germans. He argues further that his picture of their life is a subtle satire on the ideals of Roman business men, which is yet substantially accurate, though the absolutism assigned to the kings is unhistorical. W. F. Edgerton, ΔΕΙΑ = 'Flock,' 'Herd.' Cites from the papyri five further examples of the word in this sense to be added to those in Steph. *Thesaurus* V.

Classical Philology. XX. 1. January, 1925.

A. W. Gomme, *The Position of Women in Athens*. The prevailing view is based upon an arbitrary choice of evidence, and there is much in Attic literature to suggest that Greek theory and practice did not differ radically from that of modern Europe. T. Frank, *On Augustus' References to Horace*. *Ode* III. 16 refers to Augustus' offer to appoint Horace *scribendis epistulis amicorum*. *Epistle* I. 13, which apparently accompanied Horace's gift of a copy of his odes caused Augustus to reply in a letter quoted by Suetonius. B. E. Perry, *Petronius and the Comic Romance*. The basic story of the *Satyricon* was modelled on some Greek comic romance like the *Ovos*; the realistic tableaux, the character drawing, the poetry, and the criticism of art and literature, are due to the originality of Petronius. B. B. Boyer and A. P. Dorjahn, *On the 1508 Aldine Pliny*. A collation of available copies of *agere*- and *facere*-texts of 1508 and of the text of 1518 shows that all copies bearing the date 1508 are impressions of the same edition; that there were at least three impressions, and that *facere* is the original reading. J. Elmore explains the *sanati* of the XII. Tables as those who had

been cured of insanity; E. M. Sanford describes one of Queen Christina's Manuscripts in the Vatican; H. L. Crosby proposes to interchange the parts assigned to Aeschylus and Dionysus in *Frogs* 1324; P. Shorey would read τοῦτο for ταὐτό in Lucian, *Prometheus* 3; P. R. Norton discusses the *Vita S. Chrysostomi* of Georgius Alexandrinus.

Hermes. LX. 1. 1925.

K. Latte, *Reste frühhellenistischer Poetik im Pisonenbrief des Horaz*. H.'s treatment of the chorus and of satyric drama shows him using a source interested in the fifth and fourth centuries. This throws light on the outlook of Neoptolemos. H. Oppermann, *Herophilos bei Kallimachos*. The Homeric σάκος is ἑπταβόειον. The reminiscence in Kall. in *Dian.* 53 makes the eyes of the Kyklopes σάκει ἴσα τετραβοείῳ. The change is due to H.'s discovery of four membranes in the eye instead of three. Discussion of ancient views on the structure of the eye. G. Jahn, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Arbeitsweise des Plautus*. Plautus' practice of merging several scenes of his original into one often leaves him with one of his chief characters mute for a considerable time. J. attempts to show how he overcomes this difficulty in the *Trinummus*. W. Judeich, *Zum 'Pheidias-Papyrus'*. Partly textual, but chiefly a defence of Nicole against Robert. It is about Ph. the sculptor after all. R. Holland, *Britomartis*. Full examination of the *Diktynnasage*, prompted by E. Maass's article in *Hermes* LVIII. on Pap. Ox. 661. A. Schulten, *Eine unbekannte Topographie von Emporion*. This is found in Sall. *Hist.* III. 6 (Maur.), where S. would restore ad <Emporias> insulam. F. A. Marx, *Untersuchungen zur Komposition und zu den Quellen von Tacitus' Annalen*. A. Finds an annual *Gruppierungsprinzip* thus: 1. Emperor's business: (a) imperial house; (b) external affairs, especially wars. 2. Senatorial business, which includes wars in public provinces. B. Tacitus and the *acta senatus*. Of these he made direct use, but they cannot have been his main source for wars in the emperor's sphere. A. Stein, *Stellvertreter der Praefecti Praetorio*. Discusses an inscription from Ostia, published by Calza in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, pp. 397-411. Restores line 2, *praef(ecto) ann(onae), a(genti) u(ices) prae[f(ectorum) praet(orio)]*, and collects parallels. H. Lamer, *Zwei Zeugnisse über römische Brettspiele*. (i.) The *calculi ordinarii* and *uagi* of Isid. *Or.* XVIII. 67 do not belong to the *lud. latrunculorum*. (ii.) *XII scripta* was not backgammon. B. A. Müller, *Κι<χv>ραῖος κόλπος*. So read for *Κιραῖος* in Hekataios, fr. 105; cf. Thuk. I. 46, 4, and Strabo VII. 324. C. Fensterbusch, *σκήνη bei Pollux*. σκ. is *Bühnengebäude* + *λογεῖον*.

LX. 2. 1925.

H. Magnus, *Ovids Metamorphosen in doppelter Fassung?* II. A full examination of the crucial passages confirms the author's conclusion (*Hermes* XL.) that nowhere can variant versions both be ascribed to Ovid. H. Schöne, *Eine umstrittene Wortstellung des Griechischen*. Collects epigraphic evidence for unusual word-orders, such as e.g. τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου πρεσβευταῖς ἐλθοῦσιν, and justifies thereby readings in literary passages which have been doubted. H. Fränkel, *Xenophanesstudien*. (i.) *X. als Geschichtesquelle*: (ii.) *die Erkenntniskritik des X.* R. Heinze, *Ciceros Rede Pro Caelio*. A long and minute examination of the speech, offered as a contribution to the study of Cicero's *inuentio*. P. Maass, *Callimachea*. Corrections in five places. A. Körte, *Zur antiken Stichometrie*. K. Ohly in *Arch. f. Pap.* VII. 190 sqq. is wrong in generalizing his conclusion from the stichometry of the Herculaneum rolls—that the numbers indicate not the actual lines, but the equivalent of so many standard lines. A. Stein, *Berichtigung*. After seeing a squeeze S. withdraws an identification suggested by him in the previous number.

LX. 3. 1925.

R. Sydow, *Kritische Beiträge zu Caesar*. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Lese-früchte*. Miscellaneous notes on Euripides, Diehl's *Anthology*, Plutarch, Julian, and other Greek authors. A. Klotz, *Der Hiatus bei Terenz*. Questions Leo's doctrine that there is no hiatus in T. Believes that the senarius is developed from the *uersus quad-dratus*. [K.'s scansion *cāuēto* in *Asin.* 372 cannot be accepted.] L. Ziehen, *Zu den Mysterien von Andania*. A criticism of Pasquali's views. R. Heinze, *Auctoritas*. This word, translated by ἀξίωμα in *Mon. Ancyranum*, means the 'influence' or 'prestige' of a person or body, to which the Romans paid a peculiar respect. MISZELLEN: G. Leue on the acrostich in the *Periegesis* of Dionysios. J. Hasebroek, on descriptive identification of persons in antiquity. F. Jacoby argues that Herodotos in IV. 160 made a mistake in stating that Learchos, who killed Arcesilaos, was A.'s brother. He was more probably a φίλος ποιητής, as stated by Plutarch 260D. F. Heichelheim identifies a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchos published in *P.S.I.* VII. 762 with Isocrates *Paneg.* IV. 78-82.

Mnemosyne. LIII. 1. 1925.

P. H. Damsté deals with the history of this journal during the half-century (1873-1922). J. C. Naber continues his *Observatiunculæ de iure Romano*. J. H. van Haeringen, *Qui fuerit Basilii Magni de Mundi Procreatione Oratorum Ordo*, shows that previous writers were wrong in supposing that these discourses were delivered on six days. Internal evidence proves that I. and II. were delivered on the first day, III. and IV. on the following, V. on a third, VI. and VII. on a fourth, and VIII. and IX. on the day following. P. J. Enk, *De Mercatore Plautina*, argues that this play is wholly derived from Philemon's Ἐμπορος, whereas Marx and Fraenkel have maintained that Demipho's dream is Plautus' own composition, modelled by him on Daemones' dream in the *Rudens*. E. particularly emphasizes the use of the same word *ambedo* in the unexampled sense of 'adimo.' This becomes explicable if the word were used here to translate an original περιτρώγω, for the sense of which cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 596, *Ach.* 257. E. deals with other difficulties brought forward by M. and F., and adds an exposition of the rôle of Lysimachus in the play. D. Cohen, *Ad Herodoti Lib. II. Annotationes Aliquot*, distinguishes four grounds of error in H.'s accounts of foreign countries: (i.) his account sometimes represents not what his informants told him, but what he understood them to have meant; (ii.) his attention is too exclusively absorbed by contrasts between the country of which he is writing and Greece; (iii.) he assumes that customs which he has noticed among the lower classes are characteristic of the nation as a whole; (iv.) he generalizes from phenomena which may be either accidental or exceptional. With the aid of these categories C. accounts for the erroneous statements of H. in II. 124 (character of Cheops) and 177 (census instituted by Amasis). H. Wagenvoort, *Ad Taciti Dial. cap. V.* Secundus invited by Maternus to arbitrate in the dispute on the rival merits of Poetry and Oratory excuses himself on the ground of his known intimacy with the poet Saleius Bassus, and adds 'porro si poetica accusatur non alium uideo reum locupletiore.' W. thinks 'quam me ipsum' is to be understood here, whereas most editors understand 'quam Bassum.' W. points out that *reus* is not properly a person *accused* but a person *involved*, quoting *Cic. De. Or.* II. 77, 116, 134, 137, etc. Tacitus proceeds to represent Aper as saying that he has no fault to find with a man like Bassus devoting himself to poetry 'cum causas agere non possit. ego enim quatenus arbitrum litis huius inueniri, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi sed et ipsum solum apud eos arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam . . . omittit studium.' W. would restore this passage by reading for 'inueniri' 'inueni reum,' and for 'et,'

'id.' C. Brakman, *Pliniana*, following a hint of Carlsson, seeks by help of the laws of the 'clausula' to decide between various readings presented by the MSS. of Pliny's *Letters*. He adds some conjectures of his own.

LIII. 2. 1925.

B. A. van Groningen, *De Cleomene Naucratis*, collects and discusses the references to this personage in ancient authors. His public career extended from 331, when Alexander made him prefect of Arabia and treasurer of all Egypt with the oversight of the building of Alexandria, to 322-321, when he was executed by Ptolemy. Van G. maintains that a careful study of the evidence shows that C. was a much calumniated man. His main characteristics were organizing efficiency, loyalty to Alexander and his heirs, zeal for economy, and dislike of the 'parasitic' classes in Egyptian society, especially priests and soldiers. H. Wagenvoort, *Ad Verg. Aen. V. 52*. Aeneas, speaking of the anniversary of his father's death, says: 'hunc (sc. diem) ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exul, | Argolicou mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae, | annua uota tamen . . . | exsequer.' W. thinks *deprensus* must mean 'tempestate oppressus'; if so, 'urbe Mycenae' ('Mycenis' cod. Rom.) cannot stand. Aeneas had actual experience of the Gaetuli and the Argolicum mare, but not of Mycenae. Hence W. would read 'arce Mineruae' (i.e. the southern promontory of Italy), cf. *Aen. III. 530*. L. Rank, *Donatea* (continued from LII., p. 404), deals with the scholia on the *Andria*. P. H. Damsté has critical notes on Propertius, Book IV.; T. L. Agar on Catullus. C. Brakman, *Tacitea*, writes (i.) on the 'clausula' in Tacitus; (ii.) critical notes; (iii.) on Tacitus 'as imitator of himself.' J. S. Phillimore has critical notes on Terence *Phormio*, in which he takes occasion to point out the numerous offences against idiom or metre found in Fleckeisen's edition. I. G. P. Borleffs, *Ad Minucii Felicis Octauium XXII. 9*: 'Quid? qui sanguine suo libat et uulneribus suis supplicat, non profanus melius esset quam sic religiosus?' Cf. Seneca, *De Superstitione* (frag. 34 Haase), 'se ipsi in templis contrucidant, uulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant.' But 'sanguine suo libat' is strange, for *libo* properly takes the accusative. Hence B. would read *litat*: cf. *Aen. II. 118*; Tert. *ad Nat. I. 15*, etc. B. A. van Groningen, *De Rebus Byzantiorum*, discusses the difficult passage [Arist.] *Oec. II.*, p. 1346b 13-26, which deals with certain financial measures adopted by the Byzantines at a time of stringency. By the deletion of one word (γάρ) and the alteration of the punctuation, he succeeds in obtaining a satisfactory sense. He argues that the financial contrivances described belong to an early period of Byzantine history, probably the sixth century B.C. There are short notes on the Law of the XII. Tables (Binsbergen), on Aesch. *Pers. 483*, Apuleius *Met. VI. 1*, and on σέλας = 'torch.'

LIII. 3. 1925.

J. C. Naber continues his *Observatiunculae de Iure Romano*. F. Muller, *De Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, deals with the relation between the 'Epistle' edited by B. Kühler as an appendix to his edition of Julius Valerius, 1888, and another published in 1910 by Pfister in his *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderröman*. The Latin of the former is almost classical, of the latter 'vulgar.' It has been denied that (2) bears any relation to (1), but M. cites four passages in (2) which are quite unintelligible until compared with the corresponding passages in (1), showing that the author of (2) was acquainted with (1), and had made use of it. T. L. Agar continues his emendations of Catullus; K. H. E. De Jong writes appreciatively of A. C. Bulle's German translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. J. Berlage, *Iocus Puerilis in Cyri Institutione Ignoratus*, writes of *Cyrop.* I. 3. 11. Cyrus has been complaining to Astyages of Sacas, the cupbearer, who will not give him access to the king as often as he desires. A. asks him what punishment would he (Cyrus) inflict on S., and C. replies: 'I would stand at the door as he does, whenever he wished to go to

breakfast, and would say, ὅτι οὐπω δυνατόν τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐντυχεῖν. σπουδάξει γὰρ πρὸς τινὰς· εἴθ', ὅποτε ἤκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι λούται· εἰ δὲ πᾶν σπουδάξοι φαγεῖν εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν. B. thinks the joke consists in the personification of τὸ ἄριστον, τὸ δεῖπνον and τὸ φαγεῖν, which are the subjects of σπουδάξει, λούται and (παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν) ἐστιν respectively. J. Berlage, *De vocibus τυκτός, τετυγμένος, ποιητός, ἐτυγμένῃ, aliis*, controverts the view that (e.g.) τυκτός = εὐτυκτός. Taking the phrase common in *Anab.* I, πόλις οἰκουμένη, he points out that it is not equivalent to εὖ οἰκουμένη, but contrasts with πόλις ἐρήμη. So with the Homeric words; they indicate 'fabricated,' of artificial (natural origin. B. discusses the various Homeric passages in the light of this hypothesis. P. H. Damsté has notes on Grattius and the *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus; C. Brakman on Ausonius. J. W. Bierma, *De Plauti Cistellaria*, inquires which of Menander's plays was the original of the *Cistellaria*. That Menander was Plautus' model Lambinus inferred from a passage in the rhetorician Hermogenes. The title gives no clue. Hence B. thinks the original may have had a participial title, of which there are many instances in New Comedy. A comparison of the *Cistellaria* with the fragments of the *Συναριστῶσαι* reveals several parallels. The identification is confirmed by a mutilated note in Festus, pp. 301, 26, and 352, 18.

Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung. I. 2-4. 1925.

2. F. Althelm, *Das göttliche im Oidipus auf Kolonos*. A detailed analysis of the play leads up to a discussion of the disharmony felt by modern readers in Oedipus' unappeasable vindictiveness. A.'s explanation is that 'for this poet human personality, divorced from all relations with the divine, would be a vessel without content.' Oedipus is the vehicle of the divine will: Sophocles, unlike Euripides, makes the characters 'functions of the action.' H. Hommel, *Das Problem des Übels im Altertum*. After a rapid sketch of Oriental and early Greek beliefs, H. fixes on Heraclitus as the first to conceive a really profound 'monodualistic' view. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* shows how later writers misunderstood him. W. Aly, *Die milesische Novelle*. A. regards Aristides as merely one late collector of a type of folk-tale diffused in Ionia since the sixth century, and not necessarily erotic. He discusses the spirit and technique of such tales, and their relation to literature, especially in connexion with Herodotus. 3. K. Meister, *Franz Boll und die Erforschung der antiken Astrologie*. An appreciation, with full bibliography. E. von Dobschütz, *Homer und die Bibel*. An elaborate comparison of the gradual establishment of the received texts of Homer and of the Bible (especially the New Testament). D. emphasizes the antiquity of most variations: he believes that both the Alexandrians and the fourth century ecclesiastical editors in the main removed corruptions and expansions, and restored from ancient sources a genuinely superior text. 4. H. Wachtler, *Der Zeus des Pheidias zu Olympia*. An attempt to reconstruct the statue and its throne, with some new suggestions. The type was soon superseded by that of Lysippus, but appreciation was revived at Pergamon, whence it passed to Rome. The statue had much influence on late Stoics and early Christians, and became the model for the established type of Christ. W. Bombe, *Neues aus dem alten Rom*. A popular account of the important excavations planned and partly executed in the Fora Caesarum, the Circus Maximus, and other parts of Rome.

Philological Quarterly (Iowa). IV. 3. 1925.

R. B. Steele, *Non-recurrence in Vocabulary as a Test of Authorship*. A criticism of Fairclough's view that the substantial non-Virgilian element in the vocabulary of the *Appendix Vergiliana* is a proof that the poems are not by Virgil. The test is illusory. Variety is the spice of style for Roman writers, and they often purposely make the second setting of a word different from the first.

Philologus. LXXX. 3. 1925.

A. Schwessinger, *Eigenart und Eigengesetzlichkeit in Platons Kunst*. Detailed analysis of the *Phaedo*, and briefer account of the *Gorgias*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Protagoras*, *Symposium*. J. Mesk, *Über Phlegons Mirabilia* I.-III. Summarizes these three Ghost Stories, showing that they agree in many details. Phlegon took them almost *verbatim* from some Hellenistic original. F. Atenstädt, *Ein Beitrag zu Stephanos von Byzanz*. Discusses relations between Stephanus, Philo of Byblus, and Orus. Fr. Bilabel, *Fragmente aus der heidelberger Papyrussammlung*. First publication of two fragments, viz.: (1) Inv. Nr. 222 = twelve very mutilated scraps of verse, written in anapaestic dimeters with iambus in last foot. They apparently concern birds and plants, and contain several new compound adjectives. (2) Inv. 1716 Verso = school list of definitions by question and answer. MISCELLANEOUS: R. Asmus indicates source of Julian, *Ep.* 59. F. Piehlmayr discusses interpolations and other points in the *Historia Augusta*. K. Rupprecht claims that in the title of Euhemerus' work the word ἀναγραφή = 'List of Stories' not 'Inscription.' Hence Ennius' translation (*Sacra Historia*) is exact.

LXXX. 4. 1925.

W. I. W. Koster, *De Glyconei et Pherecratei Origine*. (Written in Latin.) Claims that the Glyconic retains its original form, but that the Pherecratean started as a Glyconic Catalectic and has suffered three changes. R. Adam, *Über eine unter Platos Namen erhaltene Sammlung von Definitionen*. Brief introduction to the "Opori and lengthy collection of parallel passages. J. Würschmidt, *Die Schrift des Menelaus über die Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen*. Describes, translates (from the Arabic), and comments on this important treatise on Physics. F. Eckstein, *Neue Untersuchungen zu Plautus und Terenz*. (1) Examines construction of the period in Terence; (2) by careful analysis of the *Bacchides* and *Mostellaria* claims to show that metre and syntax throw light on Plautus' development. F. Walter, *Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern*. Emendations in text of fifteen Latin authors, mostly post-Augustan. K. Barwick, *Ovids Erzählung vom Raub der Proserpina und Nikanders Ἑρεποούμενα*. Ovid's source in *Fasti*, 4, 419-618 and *Met.* 5, 341-661 is Nicander. O.'s adaptation in the *Fasti* of his epic original is instructive. MISCELLANEOUS: H. Koch points out coincidences in Arnobius and Lactantius. F. Zimmermann suggests three emendations in the text of Chariton, viz. p. 22, 5 sqq., Hercher, p. 24, 19 sqq., p. 26, 7 sqq.

Revue de Philologie. XLVIII. 2. 1924.

Contains summaries of classical works published in 1923.

XLVIII. 3. 1924.

F. Cumont, *Le plus ancien Parchemin grec*. A fragment of a legal document circa 189 B.C. discovered at Sâlihiyeh in 1922. Van der Heyde, *L'Origine de la Conjunction dum*. G. Ramain, *A propos de Virgile Géorgiques* III. 416-439. L. H. Gray, *Essai de Restitution de quelques Lacunes dans les Drame d'Eschyle*. J. E. Harry, *Quatre Corrections à Eschyle*. L. A. Constans, *Notes critiques et historiques sur quelques Passages de César* de B. G. A discussion of VII. 75 and other passages. H. Jacobet, *Emendationes Livianae*. E. Cavaignac, *La Désignation des Archontes athéniens jusqu'en 487*. After 487 the archons were chosen by lot from the 500 προκριθέντες. Hence the archonship lost all political significance. G. Prychocki, *Plautina*. On Poen. 53-54; Bacch. 213 sqq. is not an attack on Pellio, but a friendly jest. P. was probably taking the part of Chrysalus. G. Dottin, *Notes sur le Texte de Dares de Phrygie*.

XLVIII. 4. 1924.

Summaries of periodicals published in 1923.

XLIX. 1: 1925.

B. Haussoullier, *Inscriptions de Didymes. Comptes de la Construction de Didymeion*. Published for the first time, with notes on the sums and also on the works concerned, a long building account from the end of the third century discovered in 1896. V. Coulon, *De quelques Passages altérés de l'Apologie et des Florides d'Apulée*. Textual suggestions prompted by P. Vallette's edition in the Budé series. Th. Walek, *La Politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III^e Siècle*. An attempt, provoked by the views of M. Holleaux, to show a consistent policy of aggression on the part of Rome, especially from 229 to 201 B.C. A. Ernout, *Sur une Glose corrompue du Mot Manes*. In *Thes. Gloss. emend. s.v. Manes* read *Manes dii mortuorum haberi quia manus* (i.e. *μάνος*) *id est rarus*. Id., *Salluste*, *Histoires* IV. 40. *Ad menstrua soluenda* does not mean 'to offer monthly sacrifices,' for which there is no authority, but 'pour passer le temps de leurs règles.' The words have been misunderstood by Plutarch in *Crass.* 11; it is more relevant to compare *Lucr.* VI. 794-6. Ch. Dubois, *L'Olivier et l'Huile d'Olive dans l'ancienne Égypte*. A well-documented sketch of the history of the olive in Egypt from its introduction probably under dyn. XIX. down to late Ptolemaic times. Reviews.

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. XIV. Band. 1/2 Heft. 1925.

H. Fränkel's *Greek Words* include *ἐξονομακλήδην* (μ 250) = *πατρόθεν*; *ῥαψῳδός* = 'inventor,' 'artistic creator,' first used by the epic poets themselves in self-commendation; and a careful examination of *περ*, not 'very' but 'also,' cf. its frequent interchange with *τε* and *καί*. H. Grimme writes about *Hittite Words in Greek*, the channel for which was perhaps Forrer's recently discovered *Ah-hi-ia-va-a* (*Αχαΐα*) in South-West Asia Minor, a state that was in constant communication with the Hittites, 1350-1320 B.C. The H. borrowed largely from their Semitic neighbours and passed many of their loans, including the alphabet, on to the Greeks, and this accounts for some peculiarities in form, e.g. the absence of aspiration and the final vowel of *ἄλφα*. J. Wackernagel connects *δορυσσόος* with *σείω*, reads *χαίροντ' ἀφίκευσο* Theoc. XV. 149, defends *παιωνίζω* Thuc. I. 50 and explains *ὥς ἴδον ὥς ἐμάνην* (Theoc. II. 82) as 'when . . . how.' P. Kretschmer studies *The Suffix -NT*, and tells us that previous attempts to explain it have failed because the student insisted on regarding it as a participial formation. It is used to form diminutives in Slavonic and Italic; *Picentes* 'young *pici*,' *Aventinus* from *aventes*, 'young birds.' This *-nt* is common in Illyrian place-names where it means 'belonging to,' e.g. *Tarentum* 'Tara (river)-town,' *Byzantium* called after its Illyrian founder Byzas. *ἀνδριάς* is a diminutive of *ἀνδρίον* ('statue of a man'), cf. *Παλλάδιον* ('statue of Pallas'). This suffix also occurs in pre-Indo-germanic and Etruscan words, and K. suggests that 'before the later expansion of the Indogermans an Indogermanic or Indogermanoid wave swept over a non-Indogermanic population.' A. Nehring concludes his summary of books and articles published in 1921 with some very sound criticisms. There is a distressingly large number of monographs and well-known periodicals which the compiler has not been able to secure, e.g. *Cl. Qu.* X.; international organization should make such gaps impossible. Much seems to have been recently written about the origin of the word *Germani*, now generally regarded either as the name of a Celtic tribe or as non-Indogermanic with perhaps a Celtic suffix. Among the etymologies we note *limen* = *liqsmen* (cf. *linquere*), 'border-line,' *plebes* = *pledhuīs*, *πληθὺς*.

INDICES

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

- ACHAEAN**, the alleged A . . . arbitration after
 Leuctra, 165 f.
Aeschylus, *Prometheus Unbound*, 61 ff.
Agar (T. L.), on Euripides' *Medea*, 214-218, 14 f.
 agrarian legislation at Rome, 185 ff.
Albinus, 7
Alcimus, 9
Alcinous, 7
 alphabet of Vaste, 68 ff.
antiae, 195 f.
Antigone and the Bride of Corinth, 147 ff.
Apphianus, date of his martyrdom, 98
Apuleius, life of Plato, 6 ff.
 arch of Constantine, its date, 56
Archilochus, 212
 archons, their designation, 217
Aristides, 216
Aristotle, his Categories, 75 ff.
Asteris (geog.), 112
Austin (R. G.), Ovid *Metamorphoses* vii. 268, 93
 Terence *Adelphi* 350, 104 ff.

Basilus Magnus, order of speeches, 214
Baynes (Norman H.), the chronology of Euse-
 bius, 95 f.
Belion (river), 112

Caesar's agrarian and colonial legislation, 185 ff.
 caesura, the, 211
Cary, M., on Caesar's laws, 191
Cary (M.), the alleged Achaean arbitration after
 Leuctra, 165 f.
Case, Janet, views on *Prometheus Bound* discussed,
 61 n. 2, 63 n. 1, 64 n. 6
Cato, his style in *De re rustica*, 115 f.
 character of Zeus in Aeschylus' *Prometheus*
 Bound, 61 ff.
Chrysostom and rhetoric, 110
 'ciris,' 103 f., 155 ff.
Clement of Alexandria, 167 ff.
Cleomenes Naucratis, 215
Clodius, a note on his policy, 182 ff.
Copa, the, 37 ff.

 dicasts in the ephetic courts, 112
Diocletian, his 'persecution years,' 95 ff.
Diogenes Laertius, his life of Plato, 7 ff.
Draco, 112

Drew (D. L.), the *Copa*, 37 ff.
 Horace *Odes* I. xii. and the Forum Augustum,
 159 ff.

Edmonds (J. M.), some notes on the Herodas
 papyrus, 129 ff.
Ephorus, 165
 epistolographi, the, 167 ff.
 etymologies, 108 ff., 208 ff.
Euadne, 149
Euripides, the *Cresphontes*, 127
 date of the *Electra*, 127
 on *Medea* 214-218, 14 f.
 the political element in the *Heracleidae*,
 117 ff.
 a quotation (?) from, 22 ff.
 the *Temenus*, 127
Eusebius, the chronology of, 94 ff.
 'evil communications,' 92 f., 164
exceptio confirmat regulam, 57

 feminine comparative, 60
Field (G. C.), Socrates and Plato in post-
 Aristotelian tradition, 1 ff.
 corrigendum, 107
 flosculi Philoxeni, 192 ff.
 forum Augustum, 159 ff.

Galerius, date of the toleration edict, 96
 genitive, the adnominal, 212
Gillespie (C. M.), the Aristotelian categories,
 75 ff.
Gillies (M. M.), purification in Homer, 71 ff.

Haimon, 147 ff.
Hancock (Elsie), the use of the singular *nos* by
 Horace, 43 ff.
Hardy (E. G.), the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea*
 Aliena Fabia, 185 ff.
Heliodorus, the manuscripts and editions,
 177 ff.
Hercules in the *Alcestis*, 66 f.
Hermodorus, 11
Herodas, 129 ff.
 the *Dream*, 114, 138 ff.
Herodotus, grounds for his errors, 214
 hiatus in Terence, 35, 214
 Hittite words in Greek, 218

- Homer, the catalogue, 114
and the Bible, 216
- Homeric hymn to Apollo, 57
hymn to Hermes, 151 ff.
- Horace, his equestrian career, 212
Odes I. xii. and the forum Augustum, 159 ff.
- Horatian ode, its form, 57
- human sacrifice in Greece, 123 ff.
- indefinite first person singular, 211
- initial letters in old manuscripts, 202 ff.
- Italic *-bh* future, 59
-f imperfect, 59
- Jackson (J.)**, the text of the Epistles of Themistocles, 167 ff.
- Knox (A. D.)**, 'evil communications,' 164
- Laistner (M. L. W.), *flosculi Philoxenei*, 192 ff.
- Lawlor (H. J.), the chronology of Eusebius, 94 f.
- Leo, F., his theory of the text of Plautus, 28 ff.
view of *Georgics* i. 406-9 criticized, 158
- Leuctra, 165 f.
- lex de actis Cn. Pompeii confirmandis*, 16 ff.
Licinia, 20
Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia, 185 ff.
Vatinia (?), 16 ff.
- Libanius, 167 ff.
- Lindsay (W. M.), 'ciris,' 103 f.
notes on the text of Terence, 28 ff.
two lost manuscripts of Terence, 101 f.
- Ling (P. H.), 'evil communications,' 22 ff., 164
- Lobon, 114
- Lowe (E. A.), some facts about our oldest Latin manuscripts, 197 ff.
- Lydian language, 211 f.
- m* omitted in manuscripts, 205 f.
- Macaria, 120 ff.
- manuscripts, some facts about our oldest Latin, 197 ff.
- Mars Ultor, Augustus' temple to, 159 ff.
- McKenzie (R.), etymologies, 108 ff., 208 ff.
- Meleager, 115
- Messapic alphabet, 68 ff.
- n* omitted in manuscripts, 205 f.
- Nicias, 111
- Nisus and Scylla, 157
- notes on the text of Terence, 28 ff.
- nt* suffix, 218
- Notting (H. C.), Cicero, *Cato maior*, II. 4, 106 f.
- Odyssey*, its unity, 57
- olive, the, in Egypt, 218
- Olympiodorus, his view of the Platonic dialogues, 2 ff.
- Osco-Umbrian future-perfect, 59
- 'persecution years' of Diocletian, 95
- Petronius, the *Satyricon*, 212
- Philinnion, 147 ff.
- Philoxenus, 192 ff.
- Pirie (J. W.), *antiae*, 195 f.
- Pisistratus, his administration of justice, 112
- Plato, the eighth epistle, 211
- Platonic commentators, the, 1 ff.
- Plautus, origin of the *Cistellaria*, 216
the *Mercator*, 214
- Pliny, the 1508 Aldine edition, 212 f.
- Plutarch's view of the Platonic writings, 1 f.
- Pocock (L. G.), *lex de actis Cn. Pompeii confirmandis*, 16 ff.
a note on the policy of Clodius, 182 ff.
- Proclus, his view of the Platonic dialogues, 2 ff.
- purification in Homer, 71 ff.
- quire signatures, 208
- Rattenbury (R. M.), the manuscripts and editions of Heliodorus, 177 ff.
- Richardson (G. W.), the chronology of Eusebius, 96 ff.
- Rigilinus, 114
- Roman buildings of the republic, 56
census statistics, 112
policy in Greece, 218
- Rose (H. J.), Antigone and the Bride of Corinth, 147 ff.
'evil communications,' 92 f.
- running titles in manuscripts, 206 f.
- Saunders (Catherine), the relation of *Aeneid* III. to the rest of the poem, 85 ff.
- Sedigitus, his canon, 113
- size of page in manuscripts, 207
- Socrates and Plato in post-Aristotelian tradition, 1 ff.
- Sophocles, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, 216
- sow, the white, 89
- Spranger (J. A.), the political element in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, 117 ff.
- Stephanus of Byzantium, 217
- Suiones, 211 f.
- SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS:
Literature and General, 56 f., 111 ff., 211 ff.
Language, 57 ff., 116, 218
- American Academy at Rome, 56
- American Journal of Philology, 111, 211 f.
- Bodleian Quarterly, 111
- Classical Philology, 111 f., 212 f.
- Glotta, 57 f., 218
- Hermes, 56 f., 213 f.
- Indogermanische Forschungen, 58 ff., 116
- Mnemosyne, 112 f., 214 ff.
- Neue Jahrbücher, 57, 113, 216
- Philological Quarterly (Iowa), 113, 216
- Philologus, 113 f., 217
- Revue de Philologie, 57, 217 f.
- Rheinisches Museum, 115

Summaries of Periodicals—*continued* :

- Société de Linguistique, 60
 Wiener Blätter, 115
 Wiener Studien, 115 f.
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, 60
- Tacitus, *Dialogus* V., 214
 his methods, 214 f.
 sources of the *Annals*, 213
- Terence, notes on his text, 28 ff.
 two lost manuscripts of, 101 f.
- Terminalia, 112
- Themistocles, the text of the Epistles, 167 ff.
- Theodosia, date of her martyrdom, 98
- Thompson (D'Arcy Wentworth), 'ciris,' 155 ff.
- Thomson (J. A. K.), views on *Prometheus Bound* discussed, 61 n. 2
- Todd (O. J.), the character of Zeus in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, 61 ff.
- Trendelenburg on the Categories, 80
- 'undead,' the, 149
- Vaste, the alphabet of, 68 ff.
- Venetic alphabet, 59
- Virgil, the composition of the *Aeneid*, 111
 the Appendix, 216
 the *Copa*, 37 ff.
 influenced by the forum Augustum, 160 ff.
 the relation of *Aeneid* III. to the rest of the poem, 85 ff.
- Vivarium school, 205
- washing in Homer, 71 ff.
- Welcker's views on *Prometheus Bound*, 61 n. 2
- Wernicke's law, 113
- Whatmough (J.), the alphabet of Vaste, 68 ff.
- Xenophon, the *Anabasis*, 115
- Zeus, his character in the *Prometheus Bound*, 61 ff.
 of Pheidias, 216

II.—INDEX LOCORVM.

- ACHILLES TATIVS :—
 iv. (18), 170
- Aeschylus :—
Septem (597-600), 23 ff.
- Appian :—
Bell. Ciu. ii. (13), 17 f.
Hannibal (44), 170
- Aristophanes :—
Frogs (1324), 213
- Aristotle :—
 [Oec.] ii. 1346b (13-26), 215
Metaph. 1075b (7), 112
Rhet. 1354b (32), 1358a (23), 1359b (9-16), 1368a (25), 1395a (3), 211
Top. ii. 1. 109a (10), 79 n. 2
- Callimachus :—
Dian. [iii.] (53), 213 ; (247), 209
Epigr. 5 (6), 209
Iou. [i.] (52), 209
- Charisius :—
 33 (7), 549 (1), 195 f.
- Charito :—
 ii. 2 (1), 114
- Cicero :—
Att. ii. 9 (1), 16 ff.
Cato maior ii. (4), 106 f.
Fam. i. 9 (7), 16 ff.
in Vatinius (29), 16 ff. ; (33, 34), 20 f.
Tusc. disp. i. (74), 112
- Dio Cassius :—
 38 (7), 17 f.
- Euripides :—
Helena (1593 sqq.), 168
- Eusebius :—
H.E. ix. 10 (12), 95
- Fronto :—
 S. 232, Z (15 sq. Naber), 116
- Hecataeus :—
 (fr. 105), 213
- Heidelberg Papyri :—
Inu. (222, 1716), 217
- Herodas papyrus :—
passim, 129 ff.
- Herodotus :—
 iv. (160), 214
- Homer :—
Hymn to Hermes (193 sqq., 199, 200), 151 ; (209, 218, 224 sq., 230), 152 ; (237 sqq.), 153 ff. ; (261 sq.), 154 ; (266 sq.), 154 f. ; (272), 155
Iliad xvii. (756, 759), 209 f. ; xxiii. (53), 14
- Horace :—
Epistles i. (13), 212 ; i. 13 (4), 48 ; ii. (1), 114
Odes ii. 13 (22), 48 ; iii. (16), 212
Satires ii. 6 (48), 48

Inscriptiones Latinae:—

Not. d. Scavi, 1923 (pp. 397-411), 213

Isidore:—

Or. xviii. (67), 213

Jerome:—

adu. Iohannem (30), 192 f.

Job:—

xix. (24), 192 f.

Julian:—

(27cd), 170

Ep. 59, 217

Juvenal:—

vi. (167), x. (54), 111

Libanius:—

cor. or. (3), 176 n. 1

Demosth. ap. (18), 170

Demosth. ded. pet. (30), 172

de Socratis silentio (22, 25), 172 n. 1

Longus:—

Past. iii. (12), 172; iv. (18), 170

Lucian:—

Prometheus (3), 213

Lucilius:—

i. (64), iv. (90), 212

[Ps.-] Lysias:—

viii. (fin.), 170

Manilius:—

i. (515 sqq.), 114

Menander:—

Heros v. (3), 114

Minucius Felix:—

Octavius 22 (9), 215

New Testament:—

Acts xvii. (28), 26, 92

1 Cor. xv. (33), 22 ff.

Phil. iii. (1), 92 f.

Rom. i. (29, 30), 93

Titus i. (12), 26, 92

Ovid:—

Fasti iv. (419-618), 217

Metam. v. (341-661), 217; vii. (268), 93

Pap. Ox.:—

(762), 214; (865), 111

Petronius:—

(15, 26, 58), 114

Plato:—

Rep. ii. (364B), 115

Plautus:—

Asin. (372), 214

Bacch. (213 sqq.), 217

Pliny:—

Nat. Hist. ii. (1 sqq.), 113 ff.

Plutarch:—

ii. (510 sq.), 209 f.

brut. or. uti (987E), 170

Pompey (48), 20

Polybius:—

ii. 39 (9), 165

Propertius:—

i. (2), 41; ii. (33)–iii. (31), 41; ii. (iii.) (34),

41; ii. (34b), 41; iii. (13)=iv. (12), 41 f.;

iv. (1, 2) 41, (8), 42

Sallust:—

Hist. iii. (6), 213

Sophocles:—

Phil. (883), 115

Trach. (335), 115

Strabo:—

viii. 7 (1), 165 f.

Syrianus:—

in Arist. met. (1078b), 4

Tacitus:—

Agric. 44 (5), 212

Terence:—

Adelphi (350), 104 ff., (947) 35

Andria (10) 33, (536) 32, (592) 36, (593) 35,

(653) 33, (720, 825) 32, (861) 30

Eun. (44, 51) 33, (57) 30, (95) 29, (132) 32,

(265) 33, (274) 32, (351) 30, (560) 30 f.,

(632) 33, (957) 34

Haut. (83, 115) 35, (168, 169) 29, (527) 30,

(672, 716) 36, (827, 829) 30, (996) 31

Hec. (106) 32, (206, 468) 33, (606) 35

Phorm. (249) 35, (562) 32 f., (936, 937) 30,

(1028) 35

Themistocles:—

Epistles i.-viii., 167 ff.

Theocritus:—

ii. (82), xv. (149), 218

Theophrastus:—

H.P. iii. 11 (2), 208

Virgil:—

Aen. i. (294-6) 161 n. 1, (755, 756) 90; ii. (780-

782) 85; iii. (1-8) 86, (458-460) 90, (500-

505) 86; v. (52) 215, (626-629, 730-737) 90;

vii. (122-127) 89

Xenophon:—

Cyrop. I. iii. (11), 215

III.—INDEX VERBORVM.

A.—GREEK.

ἀναγραφή, 217
ἀναλαβεῖν, 211
ἀνδριάς, 218
ἄρρωστος, 109
ἀσπάσιος, 108

δαίμων, 59
δικεῖν, 58
δορυσσοός, 218

ἔκων, 59
ἐλλεχάων, 153
ἐρρωμαι, 109
ἐξις (transitive sense), 82
ἐξονομακλήδην, 218
ἐσθίω, 58
ἐσθω, 58
εὕς, 59
ἐχειν, 83

ἦματος, 58, 59

καθ' αὐτό, 76 n. 4
καθ' ὃ, 76 n. 4
κοδύμαλον, 57
κυδώνια, 57

λάπτειν, 60
λεία, 212

δρρος, 59
-οσύνη, 60
οἶλη (σποδός), 153
οἶλος, 208 ff.
οὐλότης, 208 ff.

περ, 218
πιτεύω, 58
ποδοστράβη, 194 n. 1
ποδόστροφον, 194 n. 1
πολή, 109 f.
ποτοστρόφια, 194
πρεσβύτεροι, 211

ῥαψφός, 218
ῥώννυμι, 109

σείω, 210
σῖ-, 58
σικός, 58
σκήνη, 213

τι-, 58
τυκτός, 216

ύκερός, 60

φόρημα, 112

B.—LATIN.

aeque quicquam, 34
amantissimus, 58
ambedo, 214
antiae, 195 f.
apocalare, 114
auctoritas, 214
Auentinus, 218

Byzantium, 218

calculi, 213
celtis, 192 f.
cotonea, 57

dic(e), 60
disco, 58
duc(e), 60

explere, 34

fero, 212
flagratus, 192

genu, 59
Germani, 218

hic, 58
hortamenta, 34
humus, 58

ii, 58
insinuare, 211
iste, 58

larix, 59
libo, 215
limen, 218

manes, 218
mitto, 58

nos, 43 ff.
-nt, 218

ossua, 58

paullisper, 58
pernocte, 93
Picentes, 218
plebes, 218

repotia, 194
reus, 214

sanati, 213

seuerus, 58
spes, 108
stlattarius, 194 f.
sum (pronoun), 35

Tarenium, 218
Thybris, 85, n. 7
Thymbris, 85, n. 7

C.—INDO-EUROPEAN.

arraš, 59
gũõu, 59
išša, 59
man-, (*mṇ-*), 116

orūd-, 59
ostēr, 59
peleku-s, 59
rouđho-, 59

D.—SANSKRIT.

brāhman, 59

vaśmi, 59

E.—AVESTIC.

sriša, 58

F.—HITTITE.

jugam, 116

jugas, 116

G.—OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC.

ovoštъ, 59

H.—LITHUANIAN.

brotaiũ, 116

I.—KELTIC (?).

Karawánken, 59

Karwéndal, 59

K.—ITALIC.

exo (Venetic), 60
mare (Romanian), 60
mexo (Venetic), 60

purđitom (Umbr.), 58
purđovitu (Umbr.), 58
Rehtia (*Re-i-tia*, Venetic), 60

L.—GOTHIC.

ik, 60

mik, 60

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00613 3983

